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# THE AMERICAN Legion

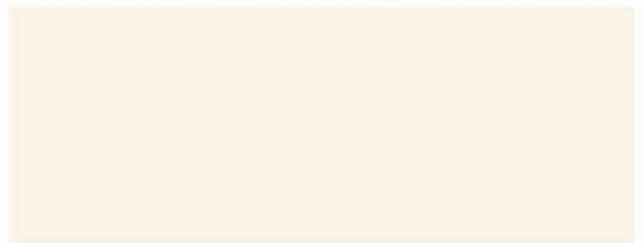
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# THE AMERICAN Legion

SEPTEMBER 2002  
Vol. 153, No. 3

For God and Country

"America  
is great  
because  
America  
is good,  
and if  
America  
ever ceases  
to be good,  
America  
will cease  
to be great."

— Alexis  
de Tocqueville

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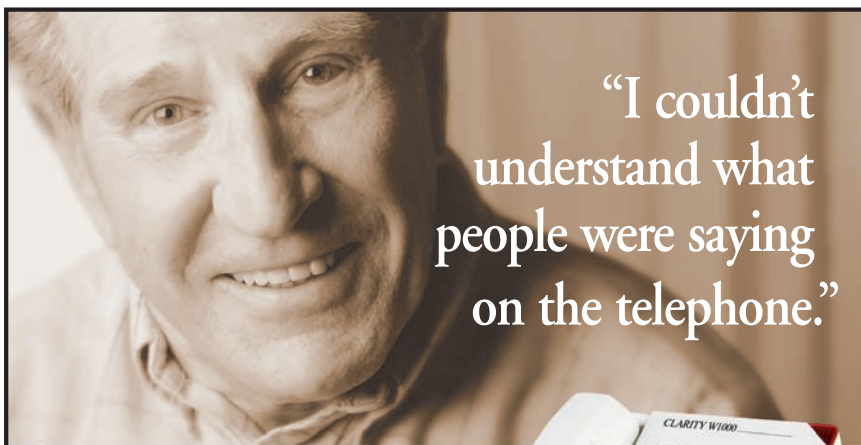
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The American Legion Magazine, a leader among national general-interest publications, is published monthly by The American Legion for its 2.7 million members. These wartime veterans, working through 15,000 community-level posts, dedicate themselves to God and Country and traditional American values; strong national security; adequate and compassionate care for veterans, their widows and orphans; community service; and the wholesome development of our nation's youth.



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## America above torture

Alan Dershowitz, author of "Why Not Torture?" (July), has an inspiring record as a practicing lawyer, scholar and writer. I respectfully offer a short list of "why not."



■ Torture presumes guilt. American jurisprudence, at its best, assumes innocence.

■ Torture produces generally false information. Witness the "confessions" elicited during the Salem witch trials.

■ Torture is needless, given skilled interrogators and intelligence agencies that are not asleep at the switch.

■ Torture debases the torturer as well as the tortured.

■ Torture plays poorly in the court of world opinion, as well as with an informed American public.

■ Torture is likely to increase the determination of the enemy.

■ Torture increases the likelihood of torture for our own troops.

■ "Non-lethal" torture may include electric probes to the gonads, gouged-out eyes, gang rape and traumatic amputations. It can maim physically and mentally destroy life just as lethal torment can, whether or not the tortured person is guilty.

We aspire to be civilized, no matter if our enemy of the moment is barbarous. In short, we're better than that, Professor Dershowitz. Just better.

— John R. Guthrie, Hopedale, Mass.

## Shocked to agree

Your excellent magazine scared me today. I found myself reading the article "Why Not Torture?" with much interest and agreeing with its author, Alan Dershowitz. Dershowitz? I must be slipping.

— Ron Buchinski, Lincoln, Neb.

## Too much to bear

I was sickened and disheartened by the article "Why Not Torture?" The fact that the U.S. Constitution prohibits cruel and unusual punishments is completely ignored. To think that a

notable organization such as The American Legion is condoning, or at least floating, this idea is almost too much to bear.

The Dirty Harry mentality of "do anything to get a confession" has no place in a free and democratic society. I regret any and all loss of innocent life, but to uphold and defend the Constitution is worth a thousand World Trade Centers plunging to the ground.

— Ray B. Davis Jr., East Flat Rock, N.C.

## Out of place

When I received the July issue and surveyed the cover, I thought to myself, "That's nice. The Legion is featuring an article opposing the torture of prisoners. This is consistent with the Geneva Convention and our human-rights interest." I opened my magazine to the Dershowitz article and began to read it. My heart skipped a beat. The article was warmly and wholeheartedly in support of torture. Of course, it endorses a kinder, gentler, "non-lethal" attack on persons in custody. Tyrants are so good at obfuscation through circumlocution.

— Dave Sheehan, Jackson, La.

## Morally wrong

Why not torture? The answer is simple: it is morally and ethically wrong. Alan Dershowitz would have us make it legal, but regardless of its legality, it would still be morally wrong. I get the impres-

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The American Legion Magazine welcomes letters concerning articles that appear in the publication. Be sure to include your hometown and a daytime phone number for verification. All letters are subject to editing. Send your opinions to:

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sion Dershowitz would have been a great legal adviser for the Spanish during the inquisitions or for McCarthy during his communist hunt. Jefferson and Madison, during the Constitutional Convention, probably would have thrown him out on his ear.

— Robert H. Williams III, Lexington, S.C.

## Not our way

If you are sure enough to get a warrant, then you know what you need to know. Torture is not the way we do things in our country.

— Tom Wood, Great Bend, Pa.

## Torture dehumanizes

What torture does, conclusively, is crush the human psyche and spirit for the remainder of the victim's severely damaged life. Torture dehumanizes the victim and the perpetrators. For your American soldier-serving magazine to even suggest legitimizing torture, especially in such a sensational way on the cover, is reprehensible.

— Steve Briggs, Grantsburg, Wis.

## Worth the risk

"Why Not Torture?" is the first thing I've seen written by Alan Dershowitz with which I agree. I'd push the envelope even farther by giving law enforcement more latitude in determining when, where and how torture should take place. A few innocents would probably suffer over time, but I doubt if they'd equal the number of innocents who perished in New York City, Washington and southwestern Pennsylvania on a single morning last September.

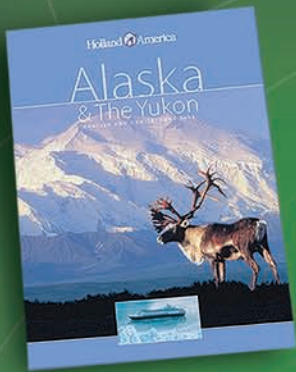
— James Ryan, Glenville, N.C.

## Wrong direction

After World War II, we hanged those who engaged in torture. We also hanged those who authorized torture and revoked the citizenship of those who stood by while tortures were committed. After the Vietnam War, we honored those servicemen who resisted the torture used by the North Vietnamese to extract information about U.S. bombing techniques and plans.

Now you publish an article by a Harvard law professor advocating we use torture in violation of the





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U.S. Constitution and the demands of human decency. The tortures committed by the Nazis and communists under Lenin and Stalin were all authorized by judges for "crimes against the state." That is not the direction I want to go as an American, a veteran and a resident of New York City.

— Michael Cohn, New York City

## Other alternatives

As an alternative to torture, I would suggest a modified "brainwashing" technique. Drugs and psychological manipulation are much more likely to produce positive results and are certainly less disturbing to those conducting the interrogation. The precise methods would need to be worked out, but much of the legal precedent has been considered in cases of convicts who need medicated.

— Stephen W. O'Driscoll,  
The Woodlands, Texas

## Wait undeserved

The article "Free VA to Bill Medicare" (Commander's Message, July) is timely and answers questions of co-payment and how "priority groups" are determined.

I do agree that veterans deserve proper medical treatment without having to wait to see a primary-care provider. That was made painfully clear to me when I tried to get emergency help in Tampa two winters ago. The VA hospital was so crowded and short on doctors that I left "under protest" rather than take a chance on dying.

In contrast, we have the White River Junction, Vt., VA hospital, where the care is equal to any facility. As patients, we are treated with respect and courtesy from the moment we sign in to see a doctor. Something is to be said for VA hospitals that, despite inadequate staff, care who we are.

— Frank Anthony, Windsor, Vt.

## Waste of time

I found the July Commander's Message, "Free VA to Bill Medicare," interesting. I am one of the Priority Group 7 veterans try-

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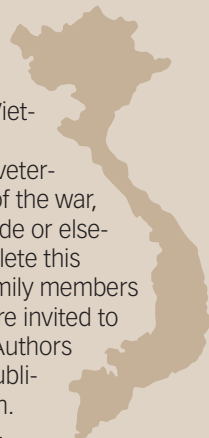
*The American Legion Magazine* is planning a September 2003 theme issue on the legacy of the Vietnam War. Brief, well-written personal anecdotes about veterans' most vivid memories of the war, whether in Vietnam, stateside or elsewhere are needed to complete this important special issue. Family members of those who served also are invited to submit their recollections. Authors of anecdotes chosen for publication will be paid \$25 each.

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ing to take advantage of VA's low-cost prescription-drug program. I never applied for VA medical benefits before this year, and I already feel I'm wasting my time. The VA clinic 26 miles away is full, and I would have to drive more than 90 miles to take advantage of this benefit sooner.

I prefer to expect nothing from government to avoid being disappointed. Members of Congress are too busy taking care of partisan bickering rather than the business of the people who send them to Washington. Let's hope they approve VA billing to Medicare. It's a no-brainer.

— Charles A. Meade Jr., St. Albans, Vt.

## Strong issue

You deserve a strong compliment on the July issue. The article by Dershowitz on the legality of torture, the Eastman article about the GAO lawsuit against Cheney and the McGowan article about treatment of diversity in reporting were especially outstanding.

— William C. Heithaus, Branford, Fla.

## On target

Thank you for William McGowan's brilliant, thought-provoking article "A Press for Diversity" (July). His premise that years of politically correct news reporting have caused Americans to mistrust the "mainstream" media is right on target. Thanks to cable TV and the Internet, intelligent Americans no longer have to put up with this blatant assault on our moral values and patriotism.

— Larry Solvey, Fairfax Station, Va.

## Been deceived?

The article by William McGowan really opened my eyes. All these years I thought our media was evenhanded. Have I been wrong?

— John McGoldrick, San Antonio

## All walks of life

I find the article "A Press for Diversity" totally offensive and contradictory to the efforts of many to alleviate forms of discrimination. I also find it inappropriate for *The American Legion Magazine*. Remember,

those of us who served our country are from all walks of life and have friends and family who fall into the various categories mentioned by McGowan.

— B. Sheff, Port St. Lucie, Fla.

## Poor comparison

The article by John C. Eastman ("The GAO's Assault on the Executive Branch," July) might as well have been written by George W. Bush or Cheney himself. Where was Eastman's outrage during the Clinton administration, when the entire Republican Congress demanded mountains of information on meetings not remotely relative to national security? It's almost laughable that to make a comparison Eastman went all the way back to World War II. Articles such as this do not belong in a magazine that many people rely on for the truth.

— John M. De Lessio, Albany, N.Y.

## Right to know

I agree with John C. Eastman that ordinarily meetings between our vice president and business-



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## Q1. Why do I need to take GLUCOVANCE?

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## Q2. What is type 2 diabetes?

People with diabetes are not able to make enough insulin and/or respond normally to the insulin their body does make. When this happens, sugar (glucose) builds up in the blood. This can lead to serious medical problems including kidney damage, amputations, and blindness. Diabetes is also closely linked to heart disease. The main goal of treating diabetes is to lower your blood sugar to a normal level.

## Q3. Why is it important to control type 2 diabetes?

The main goal of treating diabetes is to lower your blood sugar to a normal level. Studies have shown that good control of blood sugar may prevent or delay complications such as heart disease, kidney disease, or blindness.

## Q4. How is type 2 diabetes usually controlled?

High blood sugar can be lowered by diet and exercise, by a number of oral medications, and by insulin injections. Before taking GLUCOVANCE you should first try to control your diabetes by exercise and weight loss. Even if you are taking GLUCOVANCE, you should still exercise and follow the diet recommended for your diabetes.

## Q5. Does GLUCOVANCE work differently from other glucose-control medications?

Yes it does. GLUCOVANCE combines two glucose lowering drugs, glyburide and metformin. These two drugs work together to improve the different metabolic defects found in type 2 diabetes. Glyburide lowers blood sugar primarily by causing more of the body's own insulin to be released, and metformin lowers blood sugar, in part, by helping your body use your own insulin more effectively. Together, they are efficient in helping you achieve better glucose control.

## Q6. What happens if my blood sugar is still too high?

When blood sugar cannot be lowered enough by GLUCOVANCE your doctor may prescribe injectable insulin or take other measures to control your diabetes.

## Q7. Can GLUCOVANCE cause side effects?

GLUCOVANCE, like all blood sugar-lowering medications, can cause side effects in some patients. Most of these side effects are minor. However, there are also serious, but rare, side effects related to GLUCOVANCE (see Q9 - Q13).

## Q8. What are the most common side effects of GLUCOVANCE?

The most common side effects of GLUCOVANCE are normally minor ones such as diarrhea, nausea, and upset stomach. If these side effects occur, they usually occur during the first few weeks of therapy. Taking your GLUCOVANCE with meals can help reduce these side effects.

Less frequently, symptoms of hypoglycemia (low blood sugar), such as lightheadedness, dizziness, shakiness, or hunger may occur. The risk of hypoglycemic symptoms increases when meals are skipped, too much alcohol is consumed, or heavy exercise occurs without enough food. Following the advice of your doctor can help you to avoid these symptoms.

## Q9. Are there any serious side effects that GLUCOVANCE can cause?

GLUCOVANCE rarely causes serious side effects. The most serious side effect that GLUCOVANCE can cause is called lactic acidosis.

## Q10. What is lactic acidosis and can it happen to me?

Lactic acidosis is caused by a buildup of lactic acid in the blood. Lactic acidosis associated with metformin is rare and has occurred mostly in people whose kidneys were not working normally. Lactic acidosis has been reported in about one in 33,000 patients taking metformin over the course of a year. Although rare, if lactic acidosis does occur, it can be fatal in up to half the cases.

It's also important for your liver to be working normally when you take GLUCOVANCE. Your liver helps remove lactic acid from your bloodstream.

Your doctor will monitor your diabetes and may perform blood tests on you from time to time to make sure your kidneys and your liver are functioning normally.

There is no evidence that GLUCOVANCE (Glyburide and Metformin HCl Tablets) causes harm to the kidneys or liver.

## Q11. Are there other risk factors for lactic acidosis?

Your risk of developing lactic acidosis from taking GLUCOVANCE is very low as long as your kidneys and liver are healthy. However, some factors can increase your risk because they can affect kidney and liver function. You should discuss your risk with your physician.

You should not take GLUCOVANCE if:

- You have chronic kidney or liver problems
- You have congestive heart failure which is treated with medications, e.g., digoxin (Lanoxin®) or furosemide (Lasix®)
- You drink alcohol excessively (all the time or short-term "binge" drinking)
- You are seriously dehydrated (have lost a large amount of body fluids)
- You are going to have certain x-ray procedures with injectable contrast agents
- You are going to have surgery
- You develop a serious condition such as a heart attack, severe infection, or a stroke
- You are ≥80 years of age and have NOT had your kidney function tested

## Q12. What are the symptoms of lactic acidosis?

Some of the symptoms include: feeling very weak, tired or uncomfortable; unusual muscle pain, trouble breathing, unusual or unexpected stomach discomfort, feeling cold, feeling dizzy or lightheaded, or suddenly developing a slow or irregular heartbeat.

If you notice these symptoms, or if your medical condition has suddenly changed, stop taking GLUCOVANCE tablets and call your doctor right away. Lactic acidosis is a medical emergency that must be treated in a hospital.

## Q13. What does my doctor need to know to decrease my risk of lactic acidosis?

Tell your doctor if you have an illness that results in severe vomiting, diarrhea, and/or fever, or if your intake of fluids is significantly reduced. These situations can lead to severe dehydration, and it may be necessary to stop taking GLUCOVANCE temporarily.

You should let your doctor know if you are going to have any surgery or specialized x-ray procedures that require injection of contrast agents. GLUCOVANCE therapy will need to be stopped temporarily in such instances.

## Q14. Can I take GLUCOVANCE with other medications?

Remind your doctor that you are taking GLUCOVANCE when any new drug is prescribed or a change is made in how you take a drug already prescribed. GLUCOVANCE may interfere with the way some drugs work and some drugs may interfere with the action of GLUCOVANCE.

## Q15. What if I become pregnant while taking GLUCOVANCE?

Tell your doctor if you plan to become pregnant or have become pregnant. As with other oral glucose-control medications, you should not take GLUCOVANCE during pregnancy.

Usually your doctor will prescribe insulin while you are pregnant. As with all medications, you and your doctor should discuss the use of GLUCOVANCE if you are nursing a child.

## Q16. How do I take GLUCOVANCE?

Your doctor will tell you how many GLUCOVANCE tablets to take and how often. This should also be printed on the label of your prescription. You will probably be started on a low dose of GLUCOVANCE and your dosage will be increased gradually until your blood sugar is controlled.

## Q17. Where can I get more information about GLUCOVANCE?

This leaflet is a summary of the most important information about GLUCOVANCE. If you have any questions or problems, you should talk to your doctor or other healthcare provider about type 2 diabetes as well as GLUCOVANCE and its side effects. There is also a leaflet (package insert) written for health professionals that your pharmacist can let you read.

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men should be protected by confidentiality, especially if they pertain to national security. However, Cheney's meetings were with dishonest managers of energy companies that cheat workers, stockholders, customers and tax collectors. Therefore, we energy-buying, tax-paying citizens have a right to know.

— Rolyn W. Olson, Rock Island, Ill.

## Wary of Russia

Frank J. Gaffney's "Ambitious Foes" (July) should be required reading for George W. Bush and those on the Hill. The Washington take on Russia is that our Cold War adversary has become our new defanged soulmate. Evidence clearly establishes that the "axis of evil" has developed the capability of causing destruction in America's heartland. It's also clear this accomplishment has benefited from technology supplied by Russia.

While it may be true that Russia's relationship with the United States has improved, it certainly would be an effective advancement of the Kremlin's ambitions if assistance to the Muslim hotheads aided the massive destruction of the Cold War victor. Now is the time for the United States to tell Russia, "We do not arm your enemies, and you should not arm ours."

— Charles Winans, Bradenton, Fla.

## Need solutions

Thank you for a wonderful publication. I find most of the articles informative and helpful. I thought "Anything but Academic" (July) would be the same. The scenario of Post X was intriguing. While few posts suffer all the maladies suggested, most have some.

The problem is you spent so much time saying what a great training session it was that you didn't provide any answers. It would have been beneficial to read the solutions the class worked out for Post X. Better still would have been to devote the entire article to the discussion. It would be a concrete aid to posts to have the solutions presented along with what was rejected.

— E. Lance Nelson, Frackville, Pa.

## Don't lift embargo

If the United States lifts the embargo on Cuba (Big Issues, July), it would give in to the worst gangster in the world: Fidel Castro. As soon as he came to power, he took all the wealth of American businesses in Cuba by converting them to government-owned without paying a cent. In other words, he stole them. He murdered anyone who tried to stop him, and his prisons are still full of dissenters.

Cubans by the hundreds come to the United States to escape the wrath and the dictatorial power of this madman. Castro would starve his people for his own purposes and blame it on us. Sen. Byron Dorgan, D-N.D., remarks that "we should engage the Cuban people and sell them our goods." They don't have any money, and we do not need anything they have. What Castro is looking for are handouts from our giveaway program so he can sell them and pocket the money.

— T. Med Hogg, Baton Rouge, La.

## Bottom line

It was good to see a well-rounded report on the destructive effects of gambling ("Gambling's Dark Side," June). The vast majority of gamblers are those who can least afford to gamble with their hard-earned money. The loud voices of politicians who feel lotteries and casinos are the answer to local and state fiscal problems are constantly with us. Few seem to take the time to figure out the bottom line, which is that countless individuals become addicted to gambling and suffer severe financial loss and heartache.

— Andy Rearick, Quincy, Mass.

## The bright side

The heartbreak and tragedy created by high-stakes gambling cannot be ignored. But what must be acknowledged is charitable gaming and its contribution to the well-being of nonprofit organizations across the country.

In October 1984, Minnesota began the process of statewide regulation of charitable gaming for nonprofit organizations such

as churches and veterans' groups. The state permitted such games as bingo, pull-tabs and raffles, with all the profits – after expenses and taxes were paid – to be contributed to lawful purpose expenditures as defined by statute. The activity is highly regulated and has been a great success.

The profit from charitable gaming stays in and benefits the community where the gambling takes place. Since Minnesota began regulating charitable gaming, the state has collected more than \$750 million in taxes and organizations have contributed more than \$1.2 billion for charitable purposes.

Not all gambling has a dark side.

— Roger Franke, president, National Association of Fund-Raising Ticket Manufacturers, St. Paul, Minn.

## A bit confused

Last week I received my June issue of *The American Legion Magazine*. Two days later, I received my monthly newsletter for Las Vegas Nites at the American Legion post in Canton, Ohio. On which side of the fence are we?

— Austin Blake, Uniontown, Ohio

## Veterans in need

The article "VPCC Focuses on Health-Care Issues" (June) points out the problem with Medicare subvention. This is a simple but serious example of bureaucratic bungling. VA is losing hundreds of thousands of dollars through this silly situation. It would cost Medicare no more to send the money to VA than it does to pay a civilian medical bill. Writing to members of Congress seems to get no more than a "we know it's a problem and we're looking into it." This is a federal government obligation.

It takes only a few minutes for Congress to supply billions to fight a war, but to take care of the results of previous wars – ill and injured veterans – it uses the subvention dodge. I fervently hope and trust that the Legion's VPCC efforts will continue.

— Palmer Payne, Boothbay Harbor, Maine

# We make America strong



National  
Commander  
Richard J. Santos  
*Chase Studios*

"America is  
best described  
by one word:  
freedom."

— Dwight D.  
Eisenhower,  
in an address  
to Congress,  
Jan. 9, 1959



In the pages of this month's *American Legion Magazine*, you will find essays on concepts that define our nation and strengthen it. "Diversity." "Faith." "Capitalism." "Patriotism." "Opportunity." "The Vote." This is an anthology of American mega-ideals that drive the most powerful country on earth.

These ideals were not conjured by kings or dictators. They were not contrived to protect the rich, rank one religion over another or to support an elite minority. Rather, they were founded on freedom – the principle that society is better off when ordinary people are given the ways and means to achieve extraordinary goals. And we are a nation of such people.

As veterans and members of The American Legion, we are the ambassadors of ordinary Americans. We are the caretakers of their freedom. We know its price and savor its rewards. Our patriotism runs deep. We are not bashful about expressing it, from the flags that fly from our front porches to the parades in which we proudly march. We have always been that way.

Since the American Revolution, our military has distinguished itself by proving that freedom is worth the fight. Through most of our history, our calls to arms have focused on liberating the oppressed or forging peace for the embattled. We did not tolerate conquest, tyranny or terrorism. We were not afraid to fight such demons.

That is why today – a year after the attacks that shook the free world – our nation is back at war against those who dare threaten the values that we hold most dear. As our troops in Operation Enduring Freedom fight to avenge the attacks of Sept. 11 and to restore world security, we, as veterans and Legionnaires, must continue to fight for freedom. We are an organization built on it.

**Continuous Contribution.** No organization can better represent this nation's greatest strengths than The American Legion. That is because nearly everything we do is connected to the protection of freedom.

We protect freedom by supporting our troops in times of war. During times of peace, we lobby for hard-fought defense dollars and military preparedness. We protect freedom by holding elected officials accountable for their promises such as lifelong access to affordable health care for veterans and an adequately funded and

staffed system to deliver it. We protect freedom by sponsoring oratorical contests on democratic themes, by promoting better understanding of government through Boys State and Boys Nation, by raising money to help children's hospitals and by performing thousands of other acts of service that cannot be quantified.

We protect freedom by asking new veterans and their family members to join The American Legion, the American Legion Auxiliary and Sons of The American Legion to assure our most sacred values are safeguarded for generations to come. We can quantify that. For a second consecutive year, we are growing in membership.

**Why We Do It.** In a June ceremony recognizing the 58th anniversary of the signing of the GI Bill, we dedicated a plaque at the hotel room where Legion Past National Commander Harry Colmery drafted the bill described as the most important legislation ever passed. It was an encapsulation of ideas, principles and passions of American Legion veterans. It was the blueprint of this nation's postwar economic and social prosperity. Millions were educated. Billions were pumped into the economy.

Economic and social impact aside, the GI Bill was especially meaningful because it was not handed down from the ivory tower or churned out of the political machine. It came from the ordinary veteran who believed in the extraordinary power of freedom.


Author Michael J. Bennett put it this way: "This was a bill conceived in democracy and dedicated to the proposition that those called upon to die for their country, if need be, are the best qualified to make it work, if given the opportunity."

We know freedom was no gift. We earned it. That is why we will continue all our lives, as proud veterans, to protect it from those who fear its power.

Past National Commander E. Roy Stone Jr. once wrote, "We live with memories of war that humble us and fill us with a sense of spiritual connection to the freedom that Americans enjoy. We have a stake in seeing our country live on and grow because we witnessed so many give their blood and sometimes their lives toward this end."

It is indeed our duty and privilege to keep fighting for Diversity, Faith, Capitalism, Patriotism, Opportunity and The Vote – ideals so important to our precious freedom.





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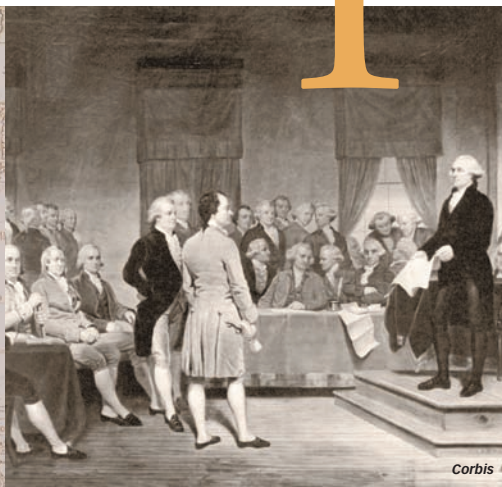
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# We the People



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Jon Reynolds

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most populist  
document  
comprises  
history, liberty  
and vision,  
and it's  
a pleasure  
to read.*

**BY AKHIL  
REED AMAR**

**M**ost Americans live under the Constitution; I live with it. Every fall semester, I teach a course about it to incoming students at Yale Law School. I write about it regularly and think about it daily. I always carry a copy in my pocket and rarely go a week without pulling it out to take yet another look at some clause or other.

I wish more Americans would do the same. One of the Constitution's greatest but least appreciated features is that it can easily be read and pondered by the average citizen. It runs less than 8,000 words and uses rather clean prose (as law goes). Yet few of the men and women whose daily lives are shaped by it, who pledge allegiance to it and profess admiration for it, who may even have risked their lives to defend it, have ever read it from start to finish.

Granted, the document bristles with technical details. The trick is to see through the minutiae to behold its basic ideas, its overall structure, its grand vision. This brief text distills a remarkable amount of American history and accumulated wisdom.

It starts with a bang. "We, the People ... do ordain and establish this Constitu-

tion." Here, the people rule, not kings or emperors or unchangeable tradition. Logically, what We the People have ordained and established, We may also alter and amend as We feel the need. Indeed, over the past two centuries, We the People have periodically felt the need to make amends for some of Our earlier lapses. The document today is far better because of these amendments.

The eye-catching words of the preamble are not merely a bold statement of the Constitution's bedrock principle of popular sovereignty. They also are a dramatic enactment of popular sovereignty.

In the 1780s, the Constitution was not merely a text, but an act, a doing, a constituting. We the People do ordain and establish. Indeed, the very act of popular ordainment in the late 1780s wowed the world, as hundreds of thousands of ordinary Americans took the stage to decide whether or not to adopt the Constitution.

I know, I know, a great many souls were excluded from the ordainment process: slaves, free blacks, women, unpropertied adult males and others. But when judged by the standards of the world circa 1787, the Constitution's big news is its sweep of inclusion rather





than extent of exclusion. At the time the preamble's words were written and acted out, the Constitution could indeed lay claim to being the most populist document the world had yet seen. In 1787, genuine self-government existed almost nowhere on the planet. Kings, emperors and czars held sway around the globe. Even England featured a limited monarchy and a powerful aristocracy. The ancient world had seen small-scale democracies in various Greek city-states and pre-imperial Rome, but these ancient democracies also had excluded slaves and women.

### By the People, For the People.

Indeed, no ancient democracy had ever democratically voted on its basic constitution itself. Rather, each ancient constitution had typically been drafted by one man, a celebrated lawgiver such as Athens' Solon or Sparta's Lycurgus. The much-admired English Constitution had never been put in writing and voted on; ordinary Americans had not been asked to ratify the 1776 Declaration of Independence, the new state constitutions penned that year or the 1781 Articles of Confederation. In dramatic contrast, the proposed federal Constitution was drafted by a representative assembly and then voted on by a popularly elected convention in each state. As Americans debated this document in 1787 and 1788, they understood – and so must we today – that never before in human history had so many ordinary persons registered their explicit consent to the supreme law under which they and their posterity would be governed.

Over the past two centuries, that posterity has struggled to make amends for some of the democratic lapses of our founding fathers. Like constitutions, amendments are not just words but deeds, actions taken by later generations seeking to redeem the preamble's proud promise of popular sovereignty. In both word and deed, America's amendments have included many of the groups unjustly excluded from the founding saga. After the

## *Later generations of Americans continue to benefit from the peace and trade dividends created by the Constitution's more perfect union.*

Civil War, We the People abolished slavery in the 13th Amendment; promised citizenship to all born in America, black and white, male and female, rich and poor, Jew and gentile, in the 14th Amendment; and extended the vote to black men in the 15th Amendment. A generation later, We the People guaranteed the right of women's suffrage in the 19th Amendment; and during a still-later civil-rights movement, We abolished federal poll taxes and secured the vote to young adults in the 24th and 26th amendments, respectively.

Previously excluded groups have played leading roles in the amendment process itself even as amendments have promised these groups future political equality. Black voters helped ratify the 15th Amendment; women voters likewise helped birth the 19th; so too, the poor and the young spearheaded the movement to secure their own constitutionally protected suffrage. Through these dramatic acts and texts of amendment, We the People of later generations have breathed new life into the preamble's old prose.

Popular sovereignty is not the only grand idea showcased by the preamble's famous words. America's Constitution was designed to prove to the world that democracy can exist on a truly continental scale. We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union ... In 1787, the idea of a continental democracy was audacious to say the least. Ancient democracies had operated only on a very limited geographic scale; many traditionalists in the 1780s thought self-government could only work in a small space, a city-state populated by citizens shaped by a common climate and adhering to a common religion. But the Constitution instead envisioned self-government on an epic scale, encompass-

ing a variety of terrains and sects across a vast expanse.

**Our Place on the Map.** This founding vision was both demographic and geographic. In the Federalist Number 10, James Madison famously explained the demographic

advantage of a large union: no single religious sect or political interest group would dominate all others across America, so there would be democratic and demographic safety in numbers. In the less famous Federalist Numbers 4-8, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton elaborated the key geographic argument, which might be paraphrased as follows:

Even as despotism reigns over almost all of Europe in 1787, Britain is relatively free because of her geography. As an island protected by the moat of the English Channel, she is hard to invade so long as she maintains a strong navy and rules the waves. Unlike large standing armies, navies cannot easily be used to impose domestic tyranny. Regimes on the European continent, however, need such armies to defend their land borders against invasion, and these armies breed military strongmen who threaten liberty.

If America degenerates into 13 separate nations, or even two or three regional confederacies, each nation-state or confederacy would begin to raise an army and thereby recreate the tyrannical conditions of the European continent, especially as states begin to fight among themselves for control of the West. If, however, We the People can form a more perfect union, like the perfect union of Scotland and England in 1707, America will resemble Britain. The vast Atlantic Ocean will be America's moat protecting us from Europe and enabling us to rely primarily on a modestly sized navy.

A small federal army might be needed to fortify the frontier but none of America's hemispheric neighbors can truly threaten united states, or provide the president a pretext to create a dangerously large standing army. Unless, of course, America's neighbors receive strong aid from the Old

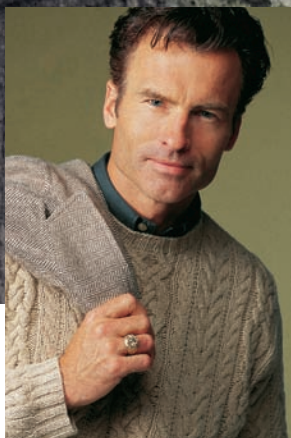


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Powers in Europe, whom Americans must discourage from strengthening their footholds in the New World. And once again, united states would be more likely to discourage European adventurism, disabling the Old Powers from playing states against each other in classic divide-and-conquer fashion.

This founding vision of a more perfect union helps explain many of the Constitution's specific words, its rules limiting state troops in Article I, section 10; its special skepticism of federal standing armies in Article I, section 8 and in the Second and Third Amendments; its specific language of the Constitution as the law of the land in Article VI, and much of its overall structure. It also helps explain much of American history: what President Washington stressed in his farewell address, why President Jefferson bought Louisiana from Napoleon, and how later presidents proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine and practiced manifest destiny.

This vision of union further explains why President Lincoln resisted Southern secession. In Lincoln's words: "Physically speaking, we can not separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them ... That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well adapted to be the home of one national family; and it is not well adapted for two, or more ... There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide ... The great interior region (between the Appalachians and the Rockies) has no sea-coast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from one or more of these outlets, not perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade

regulations ... These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region."

Like the founders, Lincoln stressed militarily defensible borders, and the need to prevent the emergence of two powerful and hostile regimes side by side, generating an arms race or a trade war that might lead to the militarization or the impoverishment of the continent. From the founding to 1860, the United States flourished as a remarkable free-trade and demilitarized zone. Those who didn't like Union policies were free to leave, but they had no right to take the land with them, or to try to bind their pro-Union neighbors, whether many or few. All Americans had invested in Fort Sumter and had a stake in the Mississippi River, and no single state could unilaterally take its land or waters and go home. With these general geographic themes, Lincoln followed in a grand tradition of the founders and his predecessor presidents.

Later generations of Americans continue to benefit from the peace dividends and trade dividends created by the Constitution's more perfect union. Most nations suffered massive devastation in their own back yards during World War II, but America's wide oceanic moats kept the 48 states safe; only Pearl Harbor fell within enemy range. Prior to the tragedy of Sept. 11, the last time foreign enemies wreaked havoc in the heartland was during the War of 1812.

Thus, the Constitution's opening sentence intertwines the revolutionary idea of popular sovereignty with the audacious vision of a continental republic. Much of the rest of the document buttresses these grand ideas with additional democratic safeguards.

**Separate Powers.** Consider for example Articles I, II and III vesting legislative, executive, and judicial powers in three coordinate branches. By dividing power among the branches, We the People retain greater power over all public ser-

vants. No one branch can wield all power or claim that it and it alone represents the sovereign people. If any major federal institution deems a proposed federal course of conduct unconstitutional, that institution can typically prevent the conduct from taking root. The House can kill any bill it considers a threat to constitutional freedom and so can the Senate; the president can veto any proposed laws he deems unconstitutional or pardon those prosecuted under such laws; the federal judiciary can likewise refuse to enforce laws that it considers constitutionally improper. At times, America's chief protections have come from political branches. For example, federal courts initially upheld the Sedition Act of 1798, which made it a crime to criticize federal officers, but Congress later allowed the Act to expire, and President Jefferson pardoned all those who had been previously convicted. At other times, federal courts have been heroic in safeguarding constitutional rights, as when the justices struck down federal statutes imposing segregation in the District of Columbia. Often, the American public gets the benefit of the most generous reading of a given right offered by competing branches.

Another liberty-protecting and democracy-promoting feature of Articles I and II derives from the fixed constitutional calendar mandating elections at fixed times, even if government incumbents might prefer to delay the day of electoral reckoning. In the midst of the Civil War, Lincoln held a free and fair presidential election, and from 1939 to 1945, America held three regularly scheduled elections, including two presidential elections. By contrast, Britain held no general election at all between November 1935 and July 1945. As Winston Churchill noted ruefully in late 1944, no one younger than 30, the generation most at risk in the war itself, had any chance to vote.

American federalism complements American separation of powers in protecting liberty. If the federal government pursues projects threatening constitutional freedom, state legislatures can



sound the alarm and focus voters' attention on the misconduct, as the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures did in a series of famous 1798 resolutions opposing the repressive federal Sedition Act of that year. So too, leaders of state governments can present themselves as credible political alternatives to incumbents in Washington; their hands-on experience running states enables them to give voters a genuine choice of leaders with proven track records. Thus, it is hardly a surprise that four of America's past five presidents – Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush – came to the White House after stints as state governors.

Federalism is a two-way street. States can help prevent federal overbearing, but the federal government can likewise help protect American liberty from state abuses. The 14th Amendment, adopted after the Civil War, is a powerful restatement of the ideas (also implicit in the Founders' Article I, section 10, and Article IV) that states may not tyrannize their citizens, and that if they try, the federal government will stop them. As with separation of powers, federalism enables the people to control government officials by dividing power between them and encouraging them to compete with each other to protect liberty and win the people's affections.

Popular sovereignty, a continental republic, regular elections, separation of powers and federalism are some of the grand themes that inspire me whenever I pull the Constitution out of my pocket. And here is one more: like the great pyramid on the back of the dollar bill, our Constitution is unfinished, a perpetual work in progress. Each generation of Americans has added its improvements, its amendments, to this expanding text, but the work is not yet done. As great as its past has been, perhaps the Constitution's best is yet to come. ★

*Akhil Reed Amar is a Yale University professor and author of "The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction."*

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# Sovereign Citizens



*Ballots are assignments from the 'school of freedom.'*

**BY JUDITH A. BEST**

America is strong and free because of the character of its people, a character developed by participation in the political associations that Alexis de Tocqueville called "large free schools ... where all the members of the community go to learn the general theory of association." Our free and frequent elections are the core of that curriculum.

Two thousand years ago, Aristotle defined citizenship as a public office. He said citizens are those who participate in judicial and legislative offices. They participate in the judicial by serving on juries and in the legislative by voting.

Because all offices of our national government are based directly or indirectly on the votes of the people, ours is a wholly popular, representative government and a school whose graduates are citizens rather than subjects.

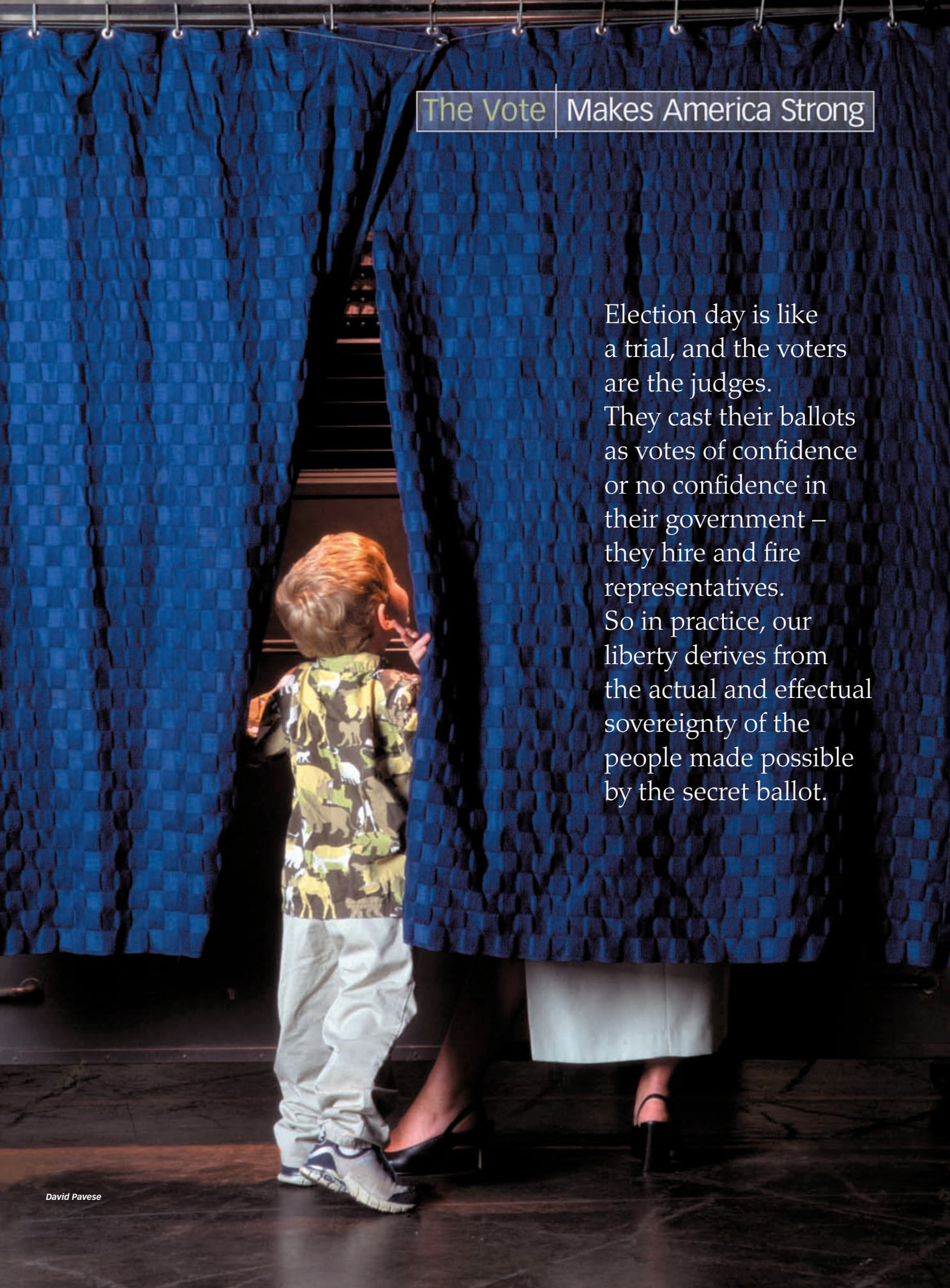
Because citizenship is an office, it creates rights and duties alike. In theory and in law, our civil rights are derived from our two-stage Lockean social contract. The first stage is the unanimous agreement to form a society to protect our natural rights. This stage of the contract is given tangible form in the Declaration of Independence, which declares

us to be "one people." As voters, we transcend our subgroups. The ballot does not indicate if you are white or black, male or female, Catholic, Protestant, Jew or Muslim. It does not indicate your social class nor your ethnic heritage. Rather, it indicates that you are an American citizen. You belong.

The second stage of the social contract is to hire a government based on the majority's consent. This stage of the contract is the highest written law of the land: the Constitution. It begins with the words, "We the People of the United States ... do ordain and establish ..." The Constitution declares our most important rights and provides a process for protecting them: a democratic federal republic, a limited government. The act of voting is a signal of ongoing consent to that constitutional process.

Other nations have written constitutions that make impressive reading. Though they contain wonderful statements about the liberties of the people, too many of them are empty words, unenforced. The U.S. Constitution created a number of enforcing agents with its separation of powers, bicameral legislature and federal system. We have





## The Vote | Makes America Strong

Election day is like a trial, and the voters are the judges. They cast their ballots as votes of confidence or no confidence in their government – they hire and fire representatives. So in practice, our liberty derives from the actual and effectual sovereignty of the people made possible by the secret ballot.



hired many guardians for our liberties who check and balance each other. But the founders were wise and raised again the perennial question of politics: who is to guard the guardians? They knew the answer: "We the People."

We fulfill this responsibility in many ways, but the most important legal way is the vote. We are accustomed to hearing that the government's power is a fiduciary power, a trust. Trustees are held to the highest standard.

Whose job is it to hold our governing officials to such a standard? The voters.

**Solemn Trust.** Election day is like a trial, and the voters are the judges. They cast their ballots as votes of confidence or no confidence in their government; they hire and fire representatives. So in practice, our liberty is derived from the actual and effectual sovereignty of the people made possible by the secret ballot. It is secret so that no one – governing official, employer, neighbor, spouse, parent or clergyman – can pressure or threaten us, deprive us of our free choice.

Thus, to be a voter is also to have a fiduciary duty. Samuel Adams said, "Let each citizen remember at the moment he is offering his vote that he is not making a present or a compliment to please an individual – or at least that he ought not so to do; but that he is executing one of the most solemn trusts in human society for which he is accountable to God and his country."

For whom are voters trustees? For our fathers, our children and our fellow citizens. As Edmund Burke said, a society is a partnership "between those who are living ... those who are dead, and those who are to be born." We, whom Burke called "the temporary possessors and life-renters," inherited the liberties we enjoy. This is an entailed estate, one which may not be sold, wasted or given away. It must be handed over intact to the next generation and – if we are diligent or lucky – perhaps improved. As voters we carry the torch of freedom; as trustees we must not let it be extinguished or flicker low.

Voting is the major assignment in the "school of freedom." For most people, the very act of voting is a solid and powerful reminder that the government is our servant, not our master. It is a reminder that we are citizens, not subjects; as citizens, we are free and self-governing. For elected officials, the process is a continual lesson about the sovereignty of the people, a reminder to those elected that they are our hired hands. By having to subject themselves to free and frequent elections, our representatives develop a healthy respect for the power of "We the People."

As Lincoln suggested, with the sentiment of the people everything is possible. Without it, nothing is possible.

Voting is more than a right and a duty; it is part of de Tocqueville's "apprenticeship in liberty." The statement that all men are born free is a promise to be fulfilled, not an accomplished fact. Our apprenticeship is designed to build our character, to make us self-determining and responsible citizens who help form and lead a free nation. It is designed to broaden our horizons so that we can live bravely and moderately. An apprentice is one who learns on the job, who learns by doing it himself. To paraphrase G.K. Chesterton, voting is not like writing poetry or playing the church organ, things we do not wish a man to do at all unless he does them well. Voting is instead like "writing one's own love letters or blowing one's own nose. These things we want a man to do for himself even if he does them badly."

**The Great Chorus.** The act of voting is an act of association. Each of us puts into the general pool his own opinions, judgments, choices. Then these votes are aggregated in various ways to create the concurrent majority. James Madison called this "the cool and deliberate sense of the community." Participation in the electoral process is an act of collaboration in which each individual contributes to, and becomes part of, a transcending process; each vote becomes a voice in that great chorus called

## Voting in America

**1776** Articles I and II of the U.S. Constitution establish that legislative and executive offices shall be filled at fixed intervals by candidates elected by the people.

**1776** The first colonial statute granting women's suffrage is passed in New Jersey. It remains in force until 1807, when it is reversed.

**1818** States begin passing laws that do away with property qualifications for voting. New Western states have few voting restrictions.

**1867** The 14th Amendment is ratified, guaranteeing adult male suffrage. The Reconstruction Act, which divides the South into five military districts and allows freed male slaves to vote, is passed.

**1870** The 15th Amendment is adopted, stipulating that "no state shall deprive any citizen of the right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

**1872** Susan B. Anthony tests the 14th Amendment by leading a group of women to cast ballots in the presidential election. She is arrested, found guilty and fined \$100. She refuses to pay the fine. Her reward comes 14 years after her death when the 19th Amendment is adopted, guaranteeing women's suffrage.

**1888** The secret ballot, adopted 30 years earlier in Australia, is first used in the United States in local elections in Louisville, Ky. It is known in America as "kangaroo voting."

**1890** Wyoming, the first state to allow women to vote, is admitted to the Union. As a territory, Wyoming gave women the vote in 1869.

**1920** The 19th Amendment is adopted, guaranteeing women's suffrage.

**1957** Congress adopts the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which provides penalties for the violation of voting rights and creates the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

**1961** The 23rd Amendment is adopted, providing voting rights for citizens in the District of Columbia.

**1964** The 24th Amendment is adopted, outlawing poll taxes as a requirement for voting in federal elections.

**1965** Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965, ensuring black voting rights and empowering the attorney general to assign federal registration examiners in the six states requiring literacy or voter-qualification tests.

**1971** The 26th Amendment lowers the voting age for all elections to 18.

**1975** Literacy requirement for voting is abolished.

Sources: Carruth, Gorton, "The Encyclopedia of American Facts and Dates," 9th ed., Harper Collins Publishing, New York, 1993; Clements, John, "Chronology of the United States," 2nd ed., Political Research Inc., Dallas, 1997; and www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk.



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the American people. The wise man may claim title to rule because of his individual wisdom, but as Aristotle taught, the people through their collective wisdom also have the same title to rule.

Voting also is a way of fostering moderation among a people, and moderation is the social, political virtue. Voting teaches us more than respect for the opinions of others. Voting teaches us that if our views are to have a chance of winning, we must accommodate them to the perspectives of others. We discover we must consult, negotiate and compromise with our fellow citizens. So the election process enlarges our views. It clarifies the reciprocity of social life: "I'll help you if you'll help me." We learn that having our say is not the same thing as having our way. Thus we become adults worthy of being enfranchised.

When we win, we know that we prevailed because of the support of our fellow citizens. When we lose, our assignment is to exercise self-control and accept the outcome

peacefully. Thereby we support the rule of law and not of men.

One of the great moments in U.S. elections is a loser's concession speech, which tells the disappointed, "We did our best, and we will try again in the next election, but the people have spoken; we will abide by their decision."

**Personal and Civic Pride.** Voting also inspires a spirit of courage essential for liberty. First, voting is an assertion of self-respect, of personal pride: "I am a free man; my vote is as important as the next man's." It is an assertion of both liberty and equality. Second, since only citizens have the right to vote, voting is an assertion of civic pride. We are not weak, isolated individuals, but members of the sovereign people. Fear can be overcome by association; courage can be the product of pride. As voters, we are members and directors of a great and powerful union, a union that inspires courage to defend our freedom. Patriotism arises from the exercise of political rights, de Toc-

queville observed. "As the American participates in all that is done in his country, he thinks himself obliged to defend (it) for it is not only his country which is then attacked, it is himself."

Despots do not fear a mass of isolated individuals. Despots fear the union of brave, proud people. Despots divide and isolate men to destroy their courage. Spirited men rule themselves; they will not be ruled. They will be citizens, not subjects.

As guardians of the guardians we must keep ourselves free, but we also are trustees for the memory of those who fought and those who died to preserve our liberty. To honor our heroes is an act of justice. It is just to keep them in thoughts and prayers, to put flowers on their graves in solemn ceremonies, but the formal act that I believe honors them most is the act of voting. We demonstrate our gratitude by using the gift they gave us, the gift for which they paid so high a price. To so honor our heroes is to see clearly the connection between freedom and courage.

The free schools of political association produce collective wisdom, moderation and courage. These are three of the four cardinal virtues. According to the Greek philosophers, if properly balanced and in their proper places, this combination can produce the fourth: justice. The collective wisdom, moderation and courage of the American people have preserved the nation to date. But each generation must serve its apprenticeship.

Lincoln understood that what makes America strong is the character of American voters. In 1838, speaking about the danger to our liberties, he said, "If it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time or die by suicide." ★

*Judith A. Best is a political science professor at the State University of New York at Cortland. She is the author of "The Choice of the People: Debating the Electoral College."*



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# Duty, Honor, Country



*Unappreciated  
yet unselfish, the  
men and women  
of the armed  
forces define  
leadership.*

**BY ADM. BILL  
OWENS**

This is an article about greatness, the greatness of America and the role the U.S. military has played in making our country what it is today.

Many of us are sons and daughters of the “greatest generation.” My father was of that generation, and he was a proud Legionnaire. My upbringing in North Dakota included a strong dose of service to country, American patriotism and association with veterans who devoted their lives to serving our nation. That upbringing was one strong reason I, at age 17, found my way to the U.S. Naval Academy, hoping to be a part of that heritage.

I wasn’t sure what “it” was all about, but I knew it was good and honorable and that those who I thought had the “right stuff” had done it. I wanted to be a part of “it.” While watching television one night, I saw “The Men of Annapolis.” Those guys wore white uniforms and carried swords, and it sure looked a lot better than my North Dakota farm routine. Soon I was off to the Naval Academy and

34 years of military service.

That decision took me to all corners of the world, many of them spent inside a submarine for months at a time. My travels were interesting, exciting and educational, an experience I’ve never regretted. Many years later, I was blessed to complete my career as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and could say that I, like my dad – a seaman first class from that greatest generation – had served my country and played a small part in making ours the greatest nation in the world.

Thirty years after graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy, I was blessed again when my own son graduated from the same institution, having chosen to serve his country in the way his grandfather and father had.

However, this same U.S. military has changed in profound ways from the time when my dad joined the Navy in 1917 to my son’s service in the late 1990s.

What is it about the United States and its military? Is the rela-



Military Power | Makes America Strong



tionship different here than in other nations? Has the military been a key element of our nation's greatness? Is it a special institution, and if it is, will it remain so?

### Where Diversity Reigns.

This is the military of George Washington and George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower; it also is the military of every private and seaman and airman who risked his life at Omaha Beach and the Battle for Kuwait City as well as in Kosovo, Bosnia and Afghanistan.

It is a military in which the officers take care of the troops and the troops take care of the officers, a military where 30 years later one is proud to say, "I was a soldier, sailor, Marine or airman."

This is a military where we enter as equals, where some are designated as officers and some as sergeants or seamen. All have the same degree of dedication to country. And when our service is over, we celebrate together in reunions of all those who participated.

We come from all racial and ethnic backgrounds. We come as Jews, Christians, Muslims, Hindus or Buddhists, and we enter the melting pot of melting pots, where we soon learn the goodness of one another and what it is like to be a member of a proud organization. We also learn leadership at its best, along with the fairness and the unfairness of life.

Many of us know the pain of losing a comrade who stood by our side. And we have shed many tears when our comrades were lost on battlefields around the world in pursuit of something they knew to be important, something they did on the command of their leaders and with confidence that that leadership would not let them down.

Our service is often performed with considerable discomfort. Literally dozens of moves have tested our families, and those of us who served in Vietnam remember well the experience of being society's out-

*I was blessed to complete my career as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and could say that I, like my dad – a seaman first class from that greatest generation – had served my country and played a small part in making ours the greatest nation in the world.*

casts at the same time we thought we were serving it. We were not allowed on some college campuses, and even in the Pentagon it was policy not to wear our uniforms because it wasn't easy to wear them on the streets at that time.

During the Cold War, our men and women in uniform served in a different kind of conflict. Names like the Fulda Gap, the "GIUK Gap" and "the Kola" fell into our vocabulary. We thought the Soviets were close to 10 feet tall, and we faced them all around the world.

Outnumbered on the central front at least four to one, we found creative ways to approach equality. Sometimes that involved new strategies such as "air-land 2000," which focused on a blitzkrieg approach to the Central Front, or the "maritime strategy," which focused on bringing pressure on the Soviet flanks. It also involved equalizing with nuclear weapons, which we built in the thousands.

Those who serve in the U.S. military – from Gettysburg to Havana to Pusan to Khe Sanh to Kabul – go on to be national leaders, some in industry or business, some in education, some in Congress, some as secretary of state or defense or energy. Some even serve as president. They are our best engineers and architects and ministers. They also are our mechanics and farmers and plumbers, and they do their work with a different kind of spirit than those who don't serve.

All of us who serve come

away changed on the inside and proud that we stood in ranks with men and women of the "right stuff." After World Wars I and II, Korea, Vietnam and Desert Storm, it is this leadership that forms the core of the morality, ethics and values of this nation.

We are graduates of West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, Princeton, Yale, Harvard and Notre Dame. We also are graduates of Dickinson State,

Mankato State and San Diego State universities.

Many of us graduated from no college but make up the core of our military – our enlisted troops, many of whom have IQs and learning skills superior to those officers who lead them but did not have the opportunity to earn a formal degree. Their experience in this U.S. military has given them a degree and a pedigree that benefits them and those with whom they are associated for the rest of their lives.

It also is important to note that 3 million active-duty personnel, reservists, Guardsmen and Coast Guardsmen cast votes. A significant voting block emerges when an additional 25 million military veterans are included.

It is with great pain and a lot of remarkable patience and understanding that we continue to be the primary force for the preservation of a free democracy, though we are the most disenfranchised element of that democracy. We say that capitalism and the entrepreneurial spirit have been the principal forces in the American economy, and of course that must be true. But I also believe leadership has largely come from those who have served in our military forces. Those forces have delivered the most pervasive and important executive management gift in our economy since the end of World War II.

That same military has led us as we figured out how to be the most diverse organization in the world, an organization in which



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When America faced a precipitous drug problem in the 1960s and 1970s, the military did as well. But the military, through grit and determination, put in place the programs to extract itself from the downward spiral of widespread, out-of-control drug abuse. That effort became one of the principal elements of leading the entire country out of the drug depression and into societal solutions. These solutions were not just technical ones of drug testing but also involved new kinds of counseling and leadership to address the problem.

We need only look at the innovation and creativity on the battlefields of the world to realize that the military has been a source of great entrepreneurial spirit for our country.

Where else do we find systems solutions like the ones we've seen in Afghanistan?

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Our allies frequently ask me how the American military thinks of these things.



Gen. Richard B. Myers tells Legionnaires assembled in Washington that the war against terrorism will not be short-lived. *James V. Carroll*

# 'We Are Going to Win'

*America's top military officer talks about the war on terror and whispers a warning – be patient.*

BY JAMES V. CARROLL

Gen. Richard B. Myers became the 15th chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff 20 days after Sept. 11. As America's highest-ranking military officer, responsible for current and ongoing U.S. military operations, his chairmanship has known no peace. And in a war such as this, he doesn't expect that to change soon.

Myers served as JCS vice chairman from March 2000 to September 2001. Prior to that, he was commander in chief of North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Space Command. In that capacity, he was responsible for defending America through space and intercontinental ballistic missile operations.

Soft-spoken but tough as nails, the Air Force

➡ see **Myers**, page 30



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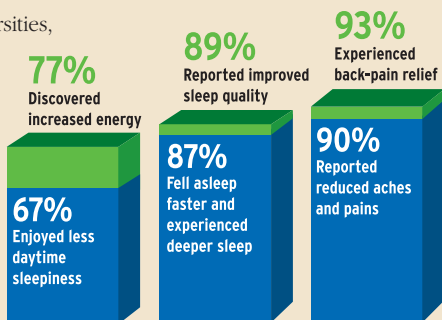


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and understanding,  
that we continue to be  
the primary force  
for the preservation  
of a free democracy,  
but the most  
disenfranchised  
element of that  
democracy.*

I tell them American troops are just “that way.”

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Today’s all-volunteer servicemember is older, stays longer, is married with family and is more professional than the military the “greatest generation” joined.

The all-volunteer force has given us a truly professional military, one which we can all look on with pride, but it’s a military that accepts only those who have proven themselves successful in high school, college and in their private lives before entering.

Those 18-to-25-year-olds from the inner cities who once came in droves to our military do not come in great numbers anymore. They don’t meet the requirements for entry. And without direction they often rot in inner cities with no possible escape.



A column of paratroopers from Company C, 3rd Battalion, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment arrive at Kandahar Airbase in Afghanistan. *U.S. Army*

**[Myers]** general prefers fresh ideas to stale doctrine. He’s a straight shooter. He is a command pilot with more than 4,000 flying hours, 600 of those in Vietnam combat in the F-4C Phantom.

Defense insiders say Myers is the right person at the right time to lead America’s armed forces against today’s global terrorist threat. He has a firm grasp of the dangers in a post-Sept. 11 world. More importantly, he and his advisers have a military strategy intended to mitigate those dangers.

“We know they are planning their next attack,” Myers told this year’s National Defense University graduating class. “We don’t know where, when or what magnitude it will be. We do not know if it’s going to include weapons of mass destruction. But if they can get their hands on them, they will. If they can kill tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people, they would do that. We know that.”

For this reason alone the world should be ever vigilant, Myers says. America and its anti-terrorist coalition must adopt and adapt, think outside the box, keep one step ahead of terrorist

plotters and never forget the basic principles of war.

“The art of war is simple enough,” Myers quotes Civil War Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. “Find out where your enemy is. Get at him as soon as you can. Strike him as hard as you can, and keep moving on.”

If Myers has his way, terrorists worldwide will experience the effects and effectiveness of those words.

**THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE:** Our country’s military has experienced enormous change. How is it different today?

**GEN. RICHARD B. MYERS:** First, let me say change is inevitable. But one aspect of America’s military remains constant. It’s the dedication and courage of the men and women in our armed forces. It has always been the case. The same resolve and bravery exhibited during our fight for independence in the 1770s remains evident today as we wage war against terrorism across the globe. Technologies or battlefield strategies may shift, but America’s military successes ultimately rely on ➔see **Myers**, page 32



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Those who at one time found their way out through the military today stay where they are, in the inner cities and society pays for them in one way or another. The exclusiveness of the all-volunteer force has had a negative impact on our nation as well as a positive one.

Our military comes from farms, factory cities, villages, college towns, trailer parks and palatial homes. We come with different talents and different educational backgrounds, and we come for different reasons. Some of us want to serve our country, some want to learn a trade or get an education, some want to escape from a problem, and others may be encouraged to join by judges.

We come from the "melting pot." We are the melting pot. And we continue to be the most admired military in the modern world.

Of course we must thank American industrial might. We must thank the country's political leadership for providing remarkable ships, tanks and airplanes, as well as the kinds of technologies that allow us to see from space, to shoot from hundreds of miles away and hit a target with an accuracy of a few inches, and to communicate anywhere in the world.

However, what makes this military most special are the men and women who have, for some reason, seen fit to risk their lives to be in it – who from the Bulge to Bougainville to Khe Sanh to Kandahar have been there for all of us and will be there in the future.★

*Retired U.S. Navy Adm. Bill Owens served as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, deputy chief of naval operations and commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. He is chief operating officer at Tele-disc in Seattle and author of "High Seas" and "Lifting the Fog of War."*

**[Myers]** its airmen, soldiers, Marines and sailors. We are the greatest military power in the world because of our people.

**TALM:** You mention technology and battlefield strategies. How have they changed?

**MYERS:** In World War II, Korea, Vietnam or the Gulf War, the enemy was pretty well-defined. We based our strategies on specific threats. We tried to match or exceed the capabilities of defined foes. We responded to what our adversaries were doing in terms of military capability. Our military was basically a threat-based force.

We now are dealing with asymmetric threats. America is a powerful military force – the best in the world. Are our enemies going to take us head-on? No, they're going to look at other ways, asymmetric ways, to attack. We prepare differently. The military must be capability-based to prepare for multiple scenarios. We know we can't get locked to any particular act or threat because if we do we're going to ignore all the other things out there that can bring our nation harm.

But keep in mind we do not have the luxury to ignore our preparation for a conventional war. We have to be able to handle a conventional war, as well as asymmetric threats. Terrorists have raised the stakes. It means we have to be more imagi-

*America is a powerful military force – the best in the world. Are our enemies going to take us head-on? No, they're going to look at other ways, asymmetric ways, to attack ... The military must be capability-based to prepare for multiple scenarios.*



Master Sgt. Michael Ashman, an Air Force Reserve crew chief from the 439th Airlift Wing at Westover Air Reserve Base, Mass., conducts a main landing gear strut change on a C-5 Galaxy. More than 37,000 Air National Guardsmen and Air Force Reservists have been called to active duty in recent months to support U.S. military operations worldwide. *U.S. Air Force*

native. It's harder work, but we have to do it if we are going to be more flexible and adaptable in how we put together things.

**TALM:** How has technology changed the capabilities of our armed forces either in threat-based or asymmetric-based strategies?

**MYERS:** Technology has permitted us to do things we didn't dream possible even 15 to 20 years ago. Our ability to communicate and sustain our forces is dramatically improved over what it was as recently as the Gulf War. Our space assets, once used mainly for reconnaissance and intelligence at the national level, are used now to pump battlefield information down to the technical level – into the foxhole, if you will. And our weapons are much more precise.

**TALM:** How has weaponry changed?

**MYERS:** The F-4 Phantom fighter aircraft, our air-war mainstay during Vietnam and several years after, was not a very accurate bombing platform. We

→see **Myers**, page 34



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**[Myers]** would fly a lot of sorties, use lot of weapons, and put a lot of people at risk to take out one target. Today we can fly a stealth aircraft to drop one weapon to destroy one target and then fly to a second target, if need be. We can fly one B-2 to take out 16 different targets with 16 different 1,000-pound weapons, as opposed to 80 or 90 aircraft dropping multiple weapons to take out a single target.

The Global Positioning System has revolutionized warfare and weapons accuracy. Early on, GPS was thought of primarily as a navigation tool. Now we use it to more accurately guide weapons. We take bombs and make them smart.

Night-vision technology is another revolutionary advance. It would be unusual to find an Air Force squadron today that does not have night-vision goggles. The C-17s I flew inside Afghanistan have them. F-15s and F-16s have them. It's the way we do business. It's the same for our ground troops. We operate 24 hours a day. There are not many militaries that do it well. We do it very well.

Real-time reconnaissance has also changed the battlefield. The Predator, an unmanned aerial vehicle we are using in Afghanistan, gives us the ability to sit over a place for almost a day and watch the target develop. In Vietnam we took snapshots. By the time the field commanders saw them, the battlefield had likely changed.

**TALM:** How has communications technology changed the way wars are fought?

**MYERS:** During previous wars our military communication systems were limited in comparison to present capabilities. Service branches worked pretty much in their own lanes. Very little integration of communication existed between the services.

Today it's a flip-flop. For the most part we have jumped the communications hurdle. Our ability to communicate and do our unified command and control and put it all together is the key



Tech. Sgt. Regina Jefferson of the 374th Operations Support Squadron, Yokota Air Base, Japan, uses radar to track civilian and military aircraft and to ensure that proper separation is maintained between aircraft using their airspace. *U.S. Air Force*

to our effectiveness as a fighting force. That's the glue that holds the whole team together. The better we are at communication the more effective our joint force commander is going to be.

**TALM:** What improvements are in sight to help the military carry out its mission?

**MYERS:** We have an information-superior force but we must always strive to achieve a decision-superior force. Again, communications play a vital role in that endeavor. We have the necessary information but do not yet

have the full capability to present a common, relevant picture of the battle space to folks at all levels from the top echelons to foxhole combatants. We can do some of that, but that's where we have to improve to operate more efficiently and as quickly as required in this new environment.

We have adversaries that are operating very quickly – terrorists in Afghanistan, as an example. They've capitalized on technology, and they keep adapting to our tactics. They get better at what they do. They use different methods and means. We have to do

the same thing. We have to stay inside what we call their decision loop so we think faster and act faster than they do. Improvements in our communications will aid us in that respect.

**TALM:** What technologies do you see in future armed conflicts?

**MYERS:** We will see dramatic improvements in our ability to hold targets at risk. Directed energy, such

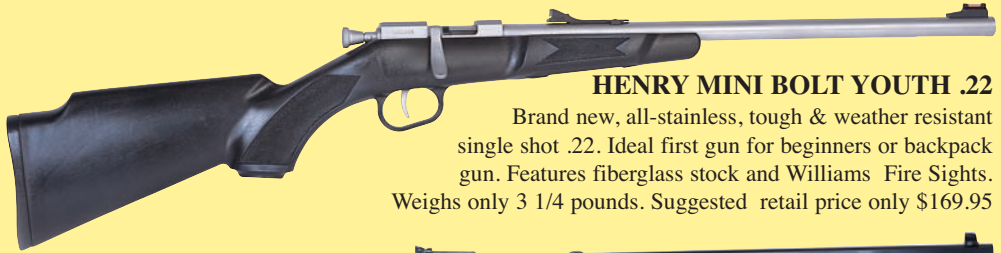
*... we have jumped the communications hurdle. Our ability to communicate and do our unified command and control and put it all together is the key to our effectiveness as a fighting force. That's the glue that holds the whole team together.*



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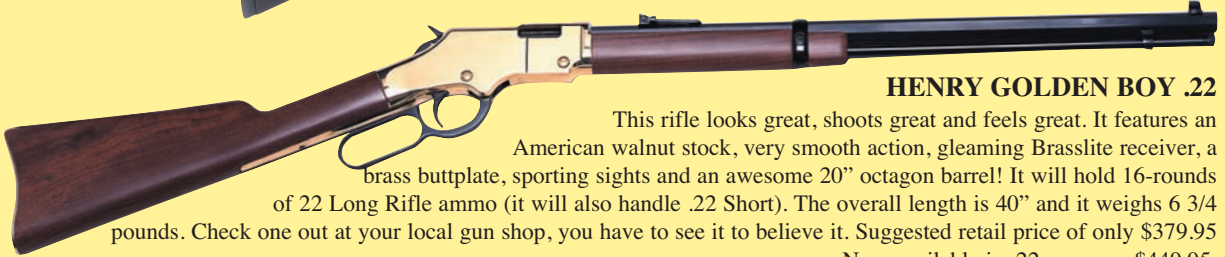


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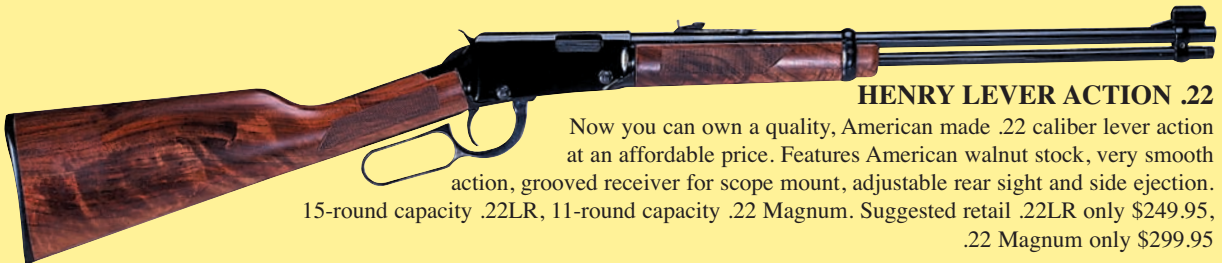
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Now available in .22 magnum \$449.95.



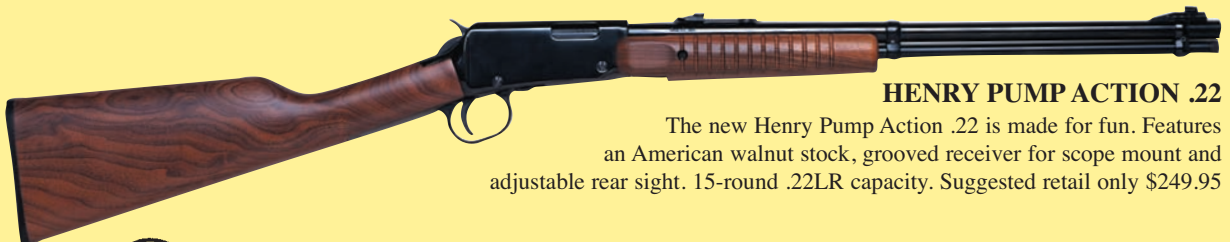
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as laser and other energy-based weapons technologies, also will play an increasing role. Of course, there are technologies waiting to be discovered.

**TALM:** With the advent of ever-increasing and more complicated technology, does it take a more educated individual to carry out today's military mission?

**MYERS:** I don't know that airmen, soldiers, Marines or sailors are any different. What we really want are people who care about their nation's security. That's been a constant for a long time. I'm sure if we had the technology during previous wars that we have today those folks could have handled the technology, too.

What levels it all out is training. We have great training. We can turn people who know nothing about space into space operators. Folks who are flying our satellites, for the most part, are enlisted non-commissioned officers. Certainly it takes aptitude, but the training makes up for particular lack of knowledge on a subject.

**TALM:** How do you compare patriotism among troops today with that of the "greatest generation"?

**MYERS:** When I visited the troops in Afghanistan I saw no difference in their determination than the determination I hear and



A U.S. Navy SEAL provides cover for his teammates advancing on a suspected location of al-Qaida and Taliban forces in eastern Afghanistan. *U.S. Navy*

I see in the eyes of World War II veterans. It's the same thing. I think we have another greatest generation growing up right here before our eyes.

**TALM:** What role can veterans' organizations play in this new era?

**MYERS:** A smaller percentage of Americans serves in the military today, so veterans play an important role in educating the general public. I would hope one of the things veterans' organizations would do is not to be just an internal organ or just lobby Capitol Hill for more benefits. Benefits are important, but it is also important for veterans to talk to audiences that know nothing about the military.

Secondly, veterans' organizations can explain why we are go-

ing to have to be patient through this Afghanistan episode. This is not a traditional war. It's not going to be front-page news every morning. We need to be patient. The threat is not going to go away. If the terrorists get their hands on chemical or biological weapons, the death toll could be unimaginable. During World War II, we husbanded and marshaled every physical and natural resource we had – our tires, petrol and all that. This is probably not going to be that kind of conflict, but we are going to have to use all

our intellectual and moral resources to get the job done. Veterans understand the way the military works and can help educate the general public.

**TALM:** In what shape is our military today?

**MYERS:** America's military is in great shape. We have a few shortages here and there, but that's manageable. We have good leadership, great young people and a great non-commissioned officers' cadre.

I think Americans coming in contact with our armed forces for the first time come away very impressed. Sometimes they are life-altering experiences. They say they never understood there were so many young people in the country wanting to do this. I would tell every Legionnaire that we have an armed force we can be very, very proud of.

**TALM:** Is the war against terrorism winnable?

**MYERS:** Yes, there is no question about it. First of all, we have no choice. But yes, we are winning and will continue to win. That doesn't mean there will not be another terrible tragedy. The possibility always exists. But we are going to win – no doubt about it. ★

*James V. Carroll is an assistant editor at The American Legion Magazine.*

## No instant victories

On Nov. 1, 2001, three weeks after military operations began in Afghanistan and just six weeks after the attacks of Sept. 11, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld delivered the following historical perspective about America's military response time:

"After the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, it took four months before the United States responded to that attack with the Doolittle raid of April 1942.

"It took eight months after Pearl Harbor before the U.S. began a land campaign against the Japanese – with the invasion of Guadalcanal in August of 1942.

"The U.S. bombed Japan for three and a half years – until August 1945 – before we accomplished our objectives in the Pacific.

"On the European front, the allies bombed Germany continually for nearly five years – from September of 1940 until May of 1945.

"It took 11 months to start the land campaign against the Germans – with the invasion of North Africa in November of 1942.

"It took the United States two years and six months after Hitler declared war on us before we landed in France on June 6, 1944.

"We are now fighting a new kind of war. It is unlike any America has ever fought before. Many things about this war are different from wars past – but, as I have said, one of those differences is not the possibility of instant victory."



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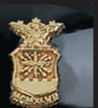
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# 1776 Faith

## When Emboldened Reason



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*America's  
founding  
fathers drew  
courage from  
their belief  
in divine  
providence.*

BY MICHAEL  
NOVAK

In many ways, 1776 was an inauspicious year. The grand British fleet, more than 300 vessels strong and laden with Royal Marines, had with impunity kept Boston Harbor occupied for almost two years, marched into the surrounding countryside, set Charlestown on fire and threatened to sail unchecked south down the coast, wreaking its will on every American harbor city.

There was no American fleet to hold them off.

The British Army in those famous bright red coats was, at minimum, the second most powerful army in the world. The Continental Congress had at the time only a puny army, ill-trained, ill-paid and irregularly equipped. One soldier from New Jersey insisted that New Jersey was the country he was fighting for, and he would recognize no other. At least five states never managed to send the money they had promised to pay the soldiers. Enlistments were for six months.

Adding to the troubled calculations of realists among the patriots, the Americans had no large munitions factory on this side of the ocean. They depended on European manufacturers.

The resolute John Adams – a quintessential father of independence – confessed candidly that not more than one third of Americans supported independence; one third supported the king. The other third occupied itself with private affairs.

Yet those who put their lives on the line for liberty had one supreme source of confidence. Underneath the wings that bore their hopes aloft they felt beyond doubt the force they counted on. In the sonorous words of the concluding passages of the Declaration of Independence, they named that force with stinging clarity, throwing down the gauntlet before the courts of the Almighty: “with a firm reliance on Divine Providence.” Before members of Congress would scrawl their names upon the parchment, they inserted that challenge into Jefferson’s original document.

**Doubting Thomas.** Thomas Paine is widely regarded as the most skeptical among important leaders of independence. He did not intend to be mistaken for a believing Christian. But even Paine, in those bleak days of December 1776 – when after six months the



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Americans had ignominiously surrendered Long Island, then Manhattan, then slowly but steadily all of New Jersey, and were a beaten remnant bottled up in the bitter cold and sickness of Valley Forge – confessed his faith:

“I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who had so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose, that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us; a common murderer, a highwayman, or a housebreaker, has as good a pretense as he.”

The commander in chief of that bedraggled army never wavered. Washington’s first orders to his men began with a daily prayer, begging the help of the Almighty in the cause of liberty, and that all officers and men be present. He forbade blasphemy and other offenses against God – and against the consciences of the people the army represented. If the army depended on the help of the Almighty, they had to prove themselves worthy of liberty:

“The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The general hopes and states, that every officer and man, will endeavor so to live, and act, as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country. The general commands all officers, and soldiers, to pay strict obedience to the orders of the Continental Congress, and by their unfeigned and pious observance of their religious duties, incline the Lord, and Giver of Victory, to prosper our arms.”

Once, one of Washington’s lieutenants caught him in the forest

*“No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States.”*

– George Washington,  
in his inaugural address

alone. As he “approached the spot with a cautious step, whom should he behold in a dark bower of ancient oaks but the commander in chief of the American armies on his knees at prayer.”

As the general later explained, “The smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained.”

Publicly, Washington marveled often at the “signal interventions” of Divine Providence. On one occasion, sheer accident brought him the enemy’s plans and dispositions. Often, his men abandoned installations just moments before the British would have captured the lot of them.

One of Washington’s favorite memories was the Battle of Long Island in August 1776. He contemplated surprising the British by attacking them from Long Island; using their fleet, though, the British sailed to his east and surrounded him. Desperately, he tried to get his army across the East River and back to safety. As dawn rose, however, the winds and tides slowed their frantic efforts, and fewer than half his troops managed to cross. The British were certain of victory, counting the moments as the morning fog lifted. Only it didn’t. The fog covered Washington’s retreating army for another six hours, until almost noon. When the Redcoats moved in for the kill, the breakfast fires of the Continental Army were still smoldering, but the men escaped. Washington was forever grateful.

Washington proclaimed in his inaugural address as president 13 years later, “No people can be

bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States.” His memory then swept back in time, viewing the years in sequence. “Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.”

**Life and Liberty.** “It is impossible for the man of pious reflection not to perceive in (the surprising success of the Constitutional Convention) a finger of that Almighty Hand which has been so frequently and signally extended to our relief in the critical stages of the revolution,” Federalist 37 recorded.

The reasoning of the revolutionary generation went like this: the entire purpose of God’s creation was so that somewhere within it there would be a creature (“male and female He made them”) to whom the Creator could offer His friendship. The Creator wanted the friendship of men and women who are free, and so, as Thomas Jefferson put it, “The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time.” William Penn designed an entire commonwealth to become a republic of friendship, named his capital city for that ideal – Philadelphia, meaning “the love of brothers” – and laid it down as a principle that without liberty there could be no friendship. Philadelphia’s Liberty Bell, with its motto from the book of Leviticus – “Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof” – became the symbol of the new nation.

How, then, the founders reasoned – as Paine reasoned – could God, the author of liberty, turn His back on a faithful people taking Him at His word, and wagering everything on the cause of liberty? God has to support liberty. Otherwise, He would be unfaithful to Himself.

That was their strength, their ace, the wind under their wings. And it was what led Paine, a





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non-Christian, to write in that bleak December, "Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it."

The founders did not believe that Providence is active in this world by a kind of magic. On the contrary, their preachers and philosophers taught them that God works through ordinary events and human causes, weaving His designs like a skillful artist who forces nothing. Nor does providence bring only happy endings or spare His favorites from bitter suffering. Rather, their spirits would be tested by every hardship and discouragement.

Even defeats could work His will. Paine explained how the defeats of 1776 had the advantage of bringing thousands of Tories out into the open as they welcomed the advancing Redcoats with open arms. The Americans knew then who the true patriots were.

The greatest of all American professors, President John Witherspoon of Princeton – teacher of Madison and scores of other leaders in the revolutionary generation, and a hyperactive congressman himself – explained in one justly famous sermon in 1776 how the ambitions of mistaken princes, the cunning and cruelty of oppressive and corrupt ministers and even the inhumanity of brutal soldiers, however dreadful, shall finally promote the glory of God.

Whether we study the workings of God's moral government of history or "the operation and influence of natural causes," Witherspoon continued, "when the manners of a nation are pure, when true religion and internal principles maintain their vigor, the attempts of the most powerful enemies to oppress them are commonly baffled and disappointed." In times of difficulty and trial, then, where should a nation look? "It is in the man of piety and inward principle that we may expect to find the uncorrupted patri-

ot, the useful citizen and the invincible soldier."

**Acts of Providence.** The men and women of 1776 were not the only generation of Americans to show such faith. Who will forget the American pilots over Midway, with only 10 minutes of fuel in their tanks before they absolutely had to turn back toward base? Suddenly the clouds parted, and down below them, undefended, lay the entire pride of the Japanese fleet. That day, an act of Providence made possible the most decisive 10 minutes of the Pacific War.

One of my favorite stories from World War II is the prayer Gen. George Patton requested of his chaplain during the crucial days of the Battle of Bastogne on the Western front in 1944. Overcast skies were preventing Allied air cover, and Patton's tanks, chomping to be let loose, had to be held in check. The general asked his chaplain to print 250,000 cards for each soldier in the Third Army, with the following prayer:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee, of Thy great goodness, to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have had to contend. Grant us fair weather for battle. Graciously hearken to us as soldiers who call upon Thee that, armed with Thy power, we may advance from victory to victory, and crush the oppression and wickedness of our enemies and establish Thy justice among men and nations."

The general's command grew out of some surprisingly clear theological reflection on his part:

"Chaplain, I am a strong believer in prayer. There are three ways that men get what they want: by planning, by working, and by praying. Any great military operation takes careful planning, or thinking. Then you must have well-trained troops to carry it out: that's working. But between the plan and the operation there is always an unknown. That unknown spells defeat or victory, success or failure. It is the reaction of the actors to the ordeal when it actually comes.

Some people call that getting the breaks; I call it God. God has His part, or margin, in everything. That's where prayer comes in."

The prayer was said, the skies cleared and the tanks lurched forward in a race to close the trap on a German salient.

It was only in keeping with a long tradition, therefore, that on the Friday following Sept. 11, 2001, President Bush led the nation in a prayer asking the blessings of Providence upon the cause of liberty.

Surveys show that 91 percent of the American people report praying for the victims of Sept. 11 and their families during those days. Close to 55 percent report having attended a prayer service – often an ecumenical service – in a church, synagogue or mosque that week. Months later, 76 percent reported having grown closer to God, praying and attending church more.

It was as if, since Osama bin Laden and his organization want to kill Americans just because they are Americans, the American people decided they might as well do what Americans always do when liberty is threatened: find strength in the very source of liberty.

Many of the early minutemen and volunteers for the militia were God-fearing, almost pacifist men. Theirs were the concerns addressed by the Rev. Peter Thacher in a sermon preached before the Artillery Company in Massachusetts. He reminded them of those who had fought at Lexington and Concord:

"Brave and hardy, like the wilderness which they subdued, they could not endure the idea of yielding their independence even to the boldest invader ... In these circumstances, our only method is to resist force with force, to repress the violence which we do not provoke, and to let men know that we will defend with our lives the liberty and the happiness which God has given us." ★

*Michael Novak is author of "On Two Wings: Humble Faith and Common Sense at the American Founding" (Encounter Books).*



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# The Last Refuge of a Free People



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*For freedom to endure, Americans must teach love of country to future generations.*

**BY MAJ. GEN. PATRICK H. BRADY**

On Sept. 11, 2001, America was stunned by a terrorist attack. The surprising outpouring of patriotism that followed equally stunned us.

For some time, a strong majority of Americans felt patriotism was in serious decline. But since Sept. 11, more people are buying and flying flags than at any time in history. It is possible that we have never been more united in support of each other and our troops. The terrorists have put our hands over our hearts again, and this renewed patriotism exhilarates most of us – but not all.

The leftist elite in America are fond of finding good in conduct the majority finds evil or offensive, such as the ACLU's defense of flag desecration and pedophilic solicitation of our children on the Internet as "free speech." Not surprisingly, these elite also find evil in good – patriotism, for example. Notables from Dr. Samuel Johnson to

Albert Einstein have condemned patriotism, and some television networks actually discouraged their work force from wearing patriotic symbols after the Sept. 11 massacre.

*We should ... instill in [our children] a love of America that alone can generate the sacrifices necessary to guarantee our freedoms.*

In a recent House debate on whether or not flag burning is constitutionally protected "speech," one member ridiculed the patriotism of those who disagreed with his tirade that burning the symbol of patriotism is patriotic. Another member said it was probably a debate on the definition of patriotism. It is hard to believe we have law-

makers with opposing definitions of patriotism. President Lincoln taught us that a nation divided cannot survive. A nation with different definitions of the Constitution and patriotism is a nation divided. For that reason, it is vital that all Americans understand patriotism, why it is important and why it is controversial. What follows is a look at genuine patriots and why they are vi-



Patriotism | Makes America Strong



tal, counterfeit patriots and why they are dangerous, and why the elite are wrong when they insist that patriotism not be forced.

**The Genuine Patriot.** A patriot is one who loves, supports and defends one's country. That is not a version of the word; that is the definition. "Support" and "defend" are the operative words; note that the definition does not focus on war. Love is difficult to pin down, best known by its fruits. To understand the love of a patriot, it is important to understand that sacrifice is best defined as love in action. Those who willingly sacrifice, i.e. support and defend, do so out of love. But the love of a patriot is not blind. Just as it is impossible to care for a person and not correct him, one cannot care for America and not seek to correct its errors.

We must guarantee that dissent and debate are robust but never damage or are directed against our Constitution, the foundation of our freedoms. Jefferson said, "I readily suppose my opinion is wrong, when opposed by the majority" and "it is my principle that the will of the majority should always prevail." It is the wisdom of the people, ultimately the majority of an informed active people, that is our protection from tyranny. The elite minority has no right to rule and should never do so.

Country is easily defined as the people, our neighbors, the land and our leaders. One need not love his neighbors, but he may not harm them. That is against the law. One may not love the land, but he may not pollute it. Is protecting our people and our land forcing patriotism? Yes. Is it forcing patriotism to draft citizens to give their lives in war to protect and defend their country? Certainly. Is it forcing patriotism to force our citizens to ration in time of war to support the effort? You bet. We may not love our leaders, but we are obliged to obey their laws.

Is it forcing patriotism to force obedience to the law? What are

*To understand the love of a patriot, it is important to understand that sacrifice is best defined as love in action. Those who willingly sacrifice, i.e. support and defend, do so out of love.*

laws for if not to force the unpatriotic to act patriotic? Patriots, good citizens, don't need laws. Any person who accepts the protection and prosperity of a nation ought to be obedient to the laws of that nation and willing to support and defend it in peace and at war.

No one has a right to control what anyone thinks, believes or loves, but we have every right, indeed an obligation, to control how our citizens act. It is insane to say that a free people cannot control conduct, and that it is not patriotic to do so. It should be obvious that demanding – indeed, forcing – patriotism is the bedrock of our freedom. It also should be clear that patriotism is the lifeblood of any nation. No nation can survive if its people refuse to support and defend it. Lukewarm Americans are indifferent to the demands of patriotism and much else, but the uncommon common Americans accept it. The elite do not.

#### **The Booted and Spurred Elite.**

To understand the elite's distaste for patriotism, it helps to understand them. They have been best defined as those who believe they were born with boots and spurs and the rest of us with saddles on our back. They are obsessed with personal power and sprinkled generously throughout our most influential forums – the classrooms, the courtrooms, the cloakrooms and the newsrooms. They seldom are found in the boardrooms, the factories or the farms, and they are never found in veterans' cemeteries. They have little concern with our pos-

terity but much for their own prosperity. They speak much of peace, not out of interest in peace but for fear they may have to sacrifice for it. The boot and spurred scoff at sacrifice. Sacrifice is for the saddled. Their most prominent characteristic may be physical cowardice. For them, morality is relative. So is patriotism, and toleration of evil is their supreme good. They can rationalize evil.

Many are the leftover Left of the 1960s, some still enamored with communism. Their heroes are celebrities. They are fond of saying the American flag is just a piece of cloth. Desecrating it is protected "speech," and so is pornography; however, prayer is not, and the Ten Commandments are a danger to the public.

The boot and spurred are represented by college professors who praised the terrorists' attack and blamed America for it; by journalists like Mike Wallace, who said he would refuse to prevent the massacre of American soldiers in order to get a story; and by lawyers, some wearing black robes over their boots and spurs, who attack justice and morality and promote laws that do not reflect our values. Their weary mantra of one man's filth is another man's lyric has become "your terrorist is my freedom fighter."

The uncommon common Americans don't mind the saddle. They accept the fact that they may be rode hard and put away wet. In their ranks are the discarded – the blind, the lame, the insane and those who have been fodder for the forces of freedom. Their sweat lubricates the machinery of America, and their blood nourishes the tree of liberty. The uncommon common Americans fill veterans' cemeteries. They love peace but know there are worse things than war, and they all come with defeat. Their dominant characteristics are courage and humility. They are team players and find happiness in sacrifice. God is their supreme good. They cannot rationalize





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evil. They despise communism. Their heroes are each other. They love the American flag and say desecrating it is hateful conduct.

They are represented by men like Webster Anderson, a triple amputee from Vietnam, who told a group of youngsters that he only had one arm left, but his country could have it any time it wished. We saw the uncommon common Americans at work in the New York rubble after Sept. 11 – the firefighters and police, the equipment operators, the pick-and-axe-and-shovel Americans who bled and poured sweat to save their fellow Americans. The men who raised the American flag in the wreckage of the Twin Towers weren't wearing \$1,000 suits or black robes.

#### **The Anti-Patriot and Faux Patriot.**

Mixed in among the booted and spurred are the anti-patriots and the faux patriots. They are the domestic enemy we all swore to protect and defend our Constitution against. The anti-patriots are easily identified. They claim to hate America for our ideology, but in truth it is because of their evil. The lobby to tolerate evil has given them haven in America; it nurtures this cancer among us. The faux patriots are the most dangerous.

These people are contra-constitutionalists engaged in guerilla warfare against our Constitution. They seek to unconstitutionally change the country of our founders to fit their agenda. They profess to love America yet refuse to support or defend it, like a parent claiming to love a child but refusing to care for that child or defend him. The faux patriots bristle at being called unpatriotic; they cower behind their "love" of America. It is their shield from the hardship and danger of service to America. The "love" gambit is vital to them; if flag burners are not patriots, and they are not, how can those who support flag burning be patriots? Like everything else, the "love" of the elite is superior and more sophisticated to that of the saddled Americans.

*We are clear that in terms of terrorism, you are either with us or against us. We should be just as clear with patriotism – you are either a patriot, one who supports and defends America, or you are not a patriot. The love of a patriot can be known only by the acts of a patriot.*

The faux patriots thrive in the media, where we hear American journalists separating journalism in America from America; where they denounce our war on terrorism, praise the courage of our enemy, and would expose our secrets and endanger our soldiers for a story. When the poet spoke of patriotism as the last refuge of scoundrels, these were the scoundrels he was speaking about.

The booted and spurred promote an America of unlovable people and laws, people and laws which will not nurture patriotism or inspire the sacrifice needed for survival. Many veterans in recent years have said that what America is becoming is not the America they fought for, and they would not fight for it again. The elite are changing our Constitution and our country, making us a less lovable people, and that is why they are dangerous. In another era, many of the booted and spurred would be branded traitors.

#### **Changing Times for Patriotism.**

In my opinion, earlier generations would have executed Jane Fonda. Can you imagine her frolicking a top a Nazi V2 rocket and then being hailed as one of the century's top 100 female role models? Today I can't see Hanoi Jane celebrating tea with a terrorist in an al-Qaida cave and returning home a heroine. Sept. 11 changed that. On that day we discovered that the patriotism many feared lost

was only dormant, kept alive over the years by the American family and organizations like The American Legion. Sept. 11 marked not only the death rattle for terrorism, but a monumental victory for hard hats over boots and spurs – a victory of those who wear their patriotism on their sleeve over those who will not wear a flag on their lapel.

Now is not the time to bask in this triumph. It is time to consolidate this victory lest it fade. The wise remind us that if love is to survive, it must be exercised. We know this is true

in our families and workplaces. It also is true in our country. It should be clear that every law we pass should foster love of country, and every parent, teacher, public figure, role model and hero should be a patriot who promotes patriotism in our youth and in our country. Again, all our heroes should be patriots; all our celebrities are not.

We are clear that in terms of terrorism, you are either with us or against us. We should be just as clear with patriotism – you are either a patriot, one who supports and defends America, or you are not a patriot. The love of a patriot can be known only by the acts of a patriot.

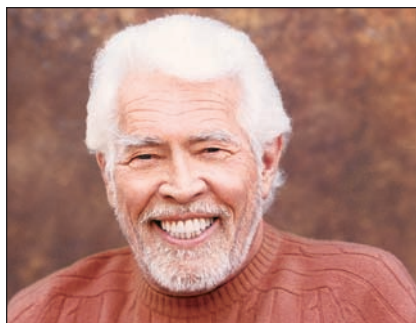
The Bible teaches that there is a time for everything under the sun. Now is the time to enshrine patriotism in America, a time to denounce the anti-patriots, a time to expose the false patriots, a time to announce that we are ashamed to have them as countrymen.

The highest form of patriotism is service to our youth. No one is born a patriot; it must be taught. We should teach our children to be horrified by the awful offal of the counterfeit patriots and instill in them a love of America that alone can generate the sacrifices necessary to guarantee our freedoms. ★

*Retired U.S. Army Maj. Gen. Patrick H. Brady is a Medal of Honor recipient who served two tours in Vietnam. He is chairman of the Citizens Flag Alliance.*



# James Coburn Tells How He Relieved Arthritis



Our *Man Flint* actor James Coburn suffered for 20 years until he found MEGAMSM.

For 20 years, severe joint problems made my life a living hell. Any kind of movement was difficult. I could barely walk—even getting up from a chair was pure agony. I went from doctor to doctor trying every medication and treatment available, but nothing seemed to work. I thought my career was over.

Then, a friend introduced me to Dr. Ronald Lawrence, a doctor who prefers to get to the cause of ailments rather than hand out drugs. Dr. Lawrence suggested that I had a deficiency of dietary sulfur because it plays an especially critical role in maintaining the elasticity and flexibility of the connective tissue and fibrous cartilage in the joints.

I was astounded because not one of the dozens of doctors I had seen over the last 20 years told me that. Dr. Lawrence also told me that sulfur is in *every healthy cell* and is used for repairing many of the structures of the body. However, many people don't get enough sulfur in their diets because farmers don't replace sulfur in the soil when they fertilize, and food processing often destroys it.

Dr. Lawrence sent me home with some dietary supplements (methyl-sulfonylmethane) and suggested that I take *megadoses* of them morning and night for three or four weeks, explaining that it takes some time to replenish your body from so great a deficiency.

Well, the fourth morning, I woke up and could hardly believe it. I didn't

have any pain, and I was bubbling with energy. I thought I must be having the occasional good day, thank God. The next morning, I awoke feeling terrific again and could hardly wait until Dr. Lawrence's office opened to call him with the news.

"Will it last?" I asked hopefully. Dr. Lawrence said I may have troubling times during the first month, but because of my early relief, he doubted that I would have many bad days. Dr. Lawrence explained that sulfur blocks the pain response in the nerve fibers for some people and helps rebuild crucial cells in the joints, but it can't do a complete rebuilding job all by itself.

Your joints are lined with a substance made from collagen and so is cartilage. Surprisingly, Dr. Lawrence said that collagen II from chicken sternums has been shown in clinical tests to be the best helper in repairing damage to your joints.

Also, he said that the Chinese's 2,000-plus years of medical experience with herbs has shown that two botanicals, *Corydalis turtschaninovii* and *Melia toosendan*, are important pain-relieving compounds.

Dr. Lawrence mixed the pain-relieving and sulfur-containing compounds, along with the collagen, together for me. Not once have I felt any side effects, because these are plant foods. I convinced Dr. Lawrence to turn over the formula to a manufacturer so the millions of people suffering the way I did can find relief. He chose Gero Vita International, and I agreed to let them print my story here *only if* they would let you try the formula, called MEGAMSM, at the lowest possible price.

Gero Vita knows how effective MEGAMSM is, so they didn't have any risk in going a step further to get you to try it. First, they'll give you a whopping 60% off a 30-day supply—only \$9.95 instead of the usual \$24.95. Plus, you can try MEGAMSM for 30 days, and if you don't like it, just mail the bottle back with the unused portion, and you'll get all of your \$9.95 back.

Of course, if it works for you *like it has for me*, you'll never want to go a day without MEGAMSM. However, you can't stock up on this because *it must be fresh for it to work well*. Therefore, Gero Vita will assume that if you haven't sent back the bottle with the unused portion within 30 days, you want to continue to take MEGAMSM. For your convenience, they have set up an automated delivery system so *you'll get a fresh supply at just the right time every month*.

Because Gero Vita saves money with the automated shipping and billing process, you won't be charged for any shipping costs—only \$24.95 will appear on your credit card statement each month. You can cancel at any time by mail or phone. There is no obligation.

During his research, Dr. Lawrence found that nutrients in some foods help your joints, while some foods can make them hurt. So, the doctor prepared a booklet entitled *What You Eat or Don't Eat Can Make Your Arthritis Better or Worse*. Gero Vita will send this valuable booklet to you *free* when you try MEGAMSM.

If you have joint problems of any kind, don't put up with the misery any longer.

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# America's Brainchild



*Our nation's  
strength  
depends upon  
an educated  
electorate.*

**BY ROBERT  
McGARVEY**

**I**s education necessary for a strong America? Thomas Jefferson thought so. He believed universal public education is the key to maintaining a free and democratic society.

In Jefferson's time, children were more often found toiling in fields, factories and mines than attending school. Education was reserved for the affluent. Jefferson broke new ground when he envisioned free public education for all. Due to his forward thinking, every child in America – regardless of economic station – can realistically aspire to attend the best schools in America.

Surprisingly, Jefferson's vision almost wasn't realized. His contemporaries initially opposed universal education, viewing it as expensive and wasteful.

Luckily, Jefferson found a supporter in Ben Franklin, himself a largely self-taught genius and devoted advocate of public education. Franklin opposed education that was abstract, where students studied Latin and memorized musical scores as part of what was called a "classical" education. Franklin envisioned America's young receiving a practical education, learning skills and studying subjects necessary for

building an economically vibrant society: law, accounting, printing or any skill with economic value.

These basic tenets formed our present-day education system. Education, though, is more than a path to economic opportunity and prosperity.

"The basis of any democracy is an educated people," says Gary Sarkozi, acting director of continuing education at Virginia Commonwealth University. Douglas Reeves, author of "Crusade in the Classroom," adds, "Democratic participation depends upon a thinking electorate."

**Early Years.** Looking back, we see how America's education system has been essential in developing the nation's military, political and economic might. Unfortunately, Jefferson's dream wasn't realized during his lifetime. However, movement had begun in that direction. The nation's first public school opened in Boston in 1635, and a sprinkling of schools soon dotted the East coast.

The next major change occurred in 1837 when Massachusetts educator Horace Mann was appointed state secretary of education and threw himself





Education | Makes America Strong

“Education,  
beyond all other  
devices of human  
origin, is a great  
equalizer of  
conditions of  
men – the  
balance wheel  
of the social  
machinery.”

– Horace Mann

into making education available to all.

“Education, beyond all other devices of human origin, is a great equalizer of conditions of men – the balance wheel of the social machinery,” Mann said. “It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility toward the rich; it prevents being poor.” Mann said that when people are educated, they have the tools to better their economic conditions and in the process contribute to society.

America’s commitment to education for all continued to grow. In 1851, Massachusetts passed the nation’s first compulsory education law, which required most children to attend school. The idea caught on. By 1900, most states had enacted laws making it mandatory for children to attend school from age 6 or 7 to about 16.

One statistic clearly shows how far America has progressed. In 1900, only about 6 percent of the nation’s youth had graduated high school. By the end of the century, the percentage was nearly 75.

In many countries around the world, even today, any kind of education is rare. In a surprising number of countries, including Portugal and Spain, the equivalent of high-school education remains primarily the province of the affluent who can afford private tuition.

No one is saying America’s public schools don’t have problems, just as no one denies the advantages of having diverse offerings that also include private and church-affiliated schools. But an undeniable key to America’s economic miracle has been a nationwide network of schools that has turned out the millions of skilled, educated workers who have kept the fire lit under the economy.

**Expanding Higher Education.** The nation’s commitment to higher education dates back to the Pilgrims. In 1636, Harvard College opened in Massachusetts. By the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783, 18 institutions of higher education dotted the new nation. These universities fostered the social elites – the

*Today, about 65 percent of high-school graduates pursue college educations, and the U.S. higher-education system counts these students as the world’s best.*

affluent and well-connected – until the mid-20th century.

Then in 1944, thanks in part to the efforts of The American Legion, the GI Bill was passed. The revolution of American education entered its endgame. Never before and never since have a few swipes of a pen in Washington had such a profound effect on education in this country. “The bill was very powerful in terms of extending access to education,” Syracuse University associate professor Suzanne Mettler says. “The country changed as a result.”

“The American Legion rallied its membership, and that was essential in winning passage,” adds Harvard University professor Theda Skocpol.

The GI Bill tore down the social barriers, says UCLA professor Arthur Cohen. “The Act said, ‘You can go to college.’”

It didn’t matter if your family was poor, if you were an immigrant, if you had never thought of higher education as a possibility. The bill said, “Go for it.” And, Cohen says, “many veterans realized they could in fact do this.”

As a result, millions of veterans flooded the nation’s colleges. A byproduct of the influx of returning veterans was “the biggest burst in adding higher educational infrastructure in the history of the nation,” says Steve Moore, assistant professor at Ohio Northern University. Colleges busied themselves, adding classrooms, dormitories and administrative office buildings to meet the needs of veterans. Colleges never had to grow so large so fast, Moore says.

**Competitive Edge.** The real impacts have emerged over the long term. “The act of going to college became an option for many more in our society,” says Cohen, who cites statistics that 16 percent of

18- to 24-year-olds attended college in 1940, and 29 percent were enrolled by 1949. Not only did returning veterans go to college, but stereotypes about higher education were shattered and a new democratic model took hold.

“The children of the veterans who went to college under the GI Bill themselves felt they too deserved a college education,” Cohen says. In the span of a generation, access to higher education became something of a universal right in America.

Today, about 65 percent of high-school graduates pursue college educations. The U.S. higher-education system counts these students as the world’s best. “Students from everywhere in the world want to come to the United States,” says Krista Kafer, an education analyst with the Heritage Foundation. The seeds of excellence can be traced to the boom that swept universities immediately after World War II.

A big benefit of opening up American higher education to the masses is that as the world becomes more technological, sophisticated and complex, the nation’s universities are producing new generations of Americans with the educations needed to compete in a tough global economy.

**Civic Responsibility.** Equally important in shaping America – just as Jefferson predicted – the educated generations have been prominently involved in civic affairs. Scholars who have researched the GI Bill are emphatic that its beneficiaries have been active, concerned citizens.

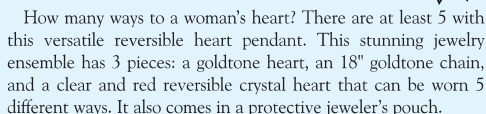
Jefferson would not be surprised. “Whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government,” he wrote in 1789. “Whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them right.”

The past two centuries have undeniably proven Jefferson right on that score. ★

*Robert McGarvey is a freelance writer living in Oro Valley, Ariz.*



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# The American Empire



*The U.S. economy works because it is driven by freedom.*

**BY GARY GEIPEL**

The numbers stagger the mind. The gross domestic product of the United States now approaches \$11 trillion per year, more than double that of any other nation. That is roughly a third of the entire planet's economic product, though Americans account for only 5 percent of the world's population. The U.S. economy grew faster than all but a handful of other nations in recent years, expanding by a staggering 41 percent between 1991 and 2000 while Japan and Western Europe grew by only 10 percent and 20 percent, respectively. During that time, more than 15 million new jobs were created in the United States. American citizens or firms hold almost half the world's scientific patents, demonstrating extraordinary inventiveness.

Something at work here goes beyond the free market. Market-based capitalism, after all, exists in dozens of nations around the world – places as diverse as Brazil, France and South Korea – without generating similar results on a consistent basis. What makes America so disproportionately strong by almost every measure of economic activity?

That's easy. The credit goes to a 62-year-old manufacturer of radio-

controlled airplanes in Sacramento, and to his neighbors and business associates. He knows his little planes offer great value, but he's frustrated his distributors have not carved out a larger market share in toy stores. At a Rotary lunch, he talks about it. A 36-year-old Chinese immigrant at the table suggests direct marketing on the Internet to customers worldwide. The immigrant runs a business that offers turnkey order-fulfillment services to small manufacturers.

Our friend is intrigued. In a matter of weeks he has solid market research showing real opportunity. The president of the regional hospital – on whose board the airplane maker sits – recommends the Web-site design services of a young husband-and-wife team working in a home office, using programmers all over the country. Two local banks and a global credit firm compete to finance the expansion, and our friend's lawyers draw up a simple contract linking him and his Rotary colleague's fulfillment business. In 18 months, sales of the little airplanes spike 25 percent and 20 new employees at both firms are hired to keep pace. Our hero increases his



## Capitalism | Makes America Strong

The United States now is the de-facto leader of a community of democratic, free-market nations that spans the globe, linked not only by common standards of finance, investment and trade but also by general agreement on the goals of human rights and military security.

tax-deductible contributions to Rotary's scholarship fund and to the hospital.

OK, not all credit goes to our fictional friend in Sacramento. But his story contains all the ingredients of this nation's economic success. This is a story that repeats itself in millions of forms, involving millions of people, in small transactions and mega-deals alike.

Only in America do the following ingredients combine to create the world's strongest economy:

■ **It's OK to Fail.** Chances are high that even a well-off 62-year-old in America still has competitive spirit. He still wants to win, even if winning means hard work instead of leisure and sticking out instead of blending in. Americans tend not to resent or envy those who are wealthy and successful. Instead, we strive to be just like them. In most other nations, bankruptcy signals the end of one's prospects as an entrepreneur or even as a citizen in good standing. In America, many of our most admired business leaders have at least one bankruptcy in their past.

■ **The Young and Opportunistic.** Every new wave of immigration has aroused fears of economic calamity and social strife. In short order, however, every new wave has enriched the nation with ideas, energy and, ultimately, wealth. The United States gives early opportunities to young people, often providing access to investment capital and serious business responsibility at an age when their counterparts in other nations are barely trusted to fetch coffee.

■ **A Common Good.** The density of America's "civil society" is unmatched in most other nations, where it is assumed that families or the government must take care of everything that matters. Civil society promotes familiarity and trust in the United States, even across barriers of class and race.

■ **The Rule of Law.** Lawyer-bashing is a popular sport in the United States, and Americans are right to worry about the effect of too many lawsuits on the cost of doing business. But the U.S. legal system still deserves more praise than blame. The rule of law re-

mains the most basic requirement for sustained commerce. Recent experience in places such as China and Russia shows that absence of clear contracts, reliable law enforcement and judicial recourse can squelch business growth.

America's first legal blessing is its "common-law" approach, shared only with Britain and a very small group of other nations. Unlike the rigid "civil law" or code-driven approach that prevails in most of the world, which requires new laws or regulations for almost every type of situation, the common-law system combines tremendous flexibility with layers of appeal.

■ **Government Limits.** When President Bill Clinton famously declared in the mid-1990s that "the era of big government is over," some Americans said "too bad," while others said "it's about time." What most Americans may not have realized is that by world standards, the era of big government never really started in this nation, which is all to the good of our economy. Total government spending as a share of GDP fell to about 30 percent in the United States during the late 1990s, even as it soared to nearly 50 percent in Japan and parts of Western Europe.

More importantly, the prevailing philosophy of government in the United States is to address perceived failures of the free market and provide safety nets to citizens, rather than control the free market and provide cradle-to-grave citizen security. The U.S. government offers incentives for certain behaviors – witness our airplane maker's tax-deductible gifts to charity – but it hesitates to force behaviors or to impose high taxes on success. The result is a dynamic, self-reliant, high-growth economy.

■ **The Popular Choice.** Other free-market nations do not hesitate to criticize our unique and sometimes perplexing approaches to business, charity and government, but America's magnetism and global reach are difficult to overestimate. The United States now is the de-facto leader of a community of democratic, free-market nations that spans the globe, linked not only by

common standards of finance, investment and trade but also by general agreement on human rights and military security. My Hudson Institute colleagues, William E. Odom and Robert Dujarric, in a forthcoming book, calculate this empire encompasses 70 percent of the world's gross economic output and 90 percent of its scientific and technical assets. The resulting network of nations can be called an American empire, an empire never before seen in history.

The American empire spreads by force of example rather than force of arms. It spreads because it works, increasing peace, human dignity and economic prosperity almost simultaneously. It is a voluntary empire that nations aspire to join. Rather than exploiting its members for the benefit of the leader, this empire benefits all members – including, of course, the leader. And while the United States retains the right of independent action, as it should, the American empire operates with an unprecedented degree of collaboration and consensus. The means for such collaboration and consensus have names such as NATO, NAFTA, WTO and G-8.

These six ingredients combine to form the foundation for America's economic success. They provide the larger cultural context in which our free-market institutions operate. Economists have only recently begun to appreciate the importance of this cultural context, helped along by Francis Fukuyama's excellent book, "Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity" (The Free Press, 1995). "We can think of traditional neo-classical economics as being, say, 80 percent correct: it has uncovered important truths about the nature of money and markets," Fukuyama writes. "But there is a missing 20 percent of human behavior. Economic life is deeply embedded in social life, and it cannot be understood apart from the customs, morals, and habits of the society in which it occurs." ★

*Gary Geipel is chief operating officer of the Hudson Institute, a national think tank based in Indianapolis.*



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# For Goodness' Sake



*In measures great and small, our culture is defined by acts of generosity.*

**BY JEFF STOFFER**

A 37-year-old mother of three lay dying in a hospice room, five months after her cancer diagnosis. She and her husband are stunned. Their lives turn upside-down. The appointments. The treatments. The bills. The job. The housekeeping. The kids. The weight of it all wears him down as his wife's face grows vacant. Each day is another step onto the tightrope of single parenthood.

To his astonishment, he realizes he's not alone.

A safety net unfurls. Their church organizes a "meals ministry," and every evening, someone shows up at the door with an aluminum-foil pan or casserole dish filled with lasagna or baked ham, green beans or mashed potatoes. A check appears in his mailbox, from a special fund established by the employees association. Co-workers assemble Easter baskets for the kids. A neighbor drops by to mow the lawn. Baby sitters offer to fill gaps, for free, because that is what we do in America when people around us are in need. We give. We give time, food, money and prayers not for personal gain or reward but because giving makes all of us strong.

Acts of kindness play over and over in thousands of communities across America every day. Contrary to those who believe neighborliness and generosity left with the good old days, the fact is we still do our best to help fellow Americans, in good times and bad.

We reach out in ways that range from multibillion-dollar endowments to a couple of hours a week playing piano for nursing-home residents.

Some acts of giving are, as we know, tax-deductible. But only about a third of Americans itemize on their returns. Meanwhile, according to one recent study, about three-quarters of Americans give something of themselves – time, money, services – for others each year. Giving is not about tax write-offs. Personal gain is not what drives generosity. It is an understanding that, but for the grace of God, any one of us can find ourselves on the receiving end someday.

I know this firsthand. My wife was the 37-year-old mother of three who died last spring after five months with cancer. My church brought the lasagna. My co-workers raised money and filled Easter baskets for us. My wife's American Legion Auxiliary unit sent cards



Giving | Makes America Strong



and said prayers that brightened her final days. They arranged a memorial service after she was gone. All the visits, the flowers, the gifts and gestures of goodness were unforgettable.

**Measures of Goodness.** According to an estimate from the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, individuals in this country gave away approximately \$152 billion in 2000 – a 4.9-percent jump from the previous year's figure. And that was the year the bears took hold of Wall Street. It was the year the dot-com euphoria wore off. It was not a year when prosperous Americans had to search hard for write-offs.

Also that year, financial donations from non-corporate foundations increased 19.6 percent to \$24.5 billion, and corporate giving rose an estimated 12.1 percent to \$10.86 billion.

While charitable generosity on the national scale flattened out in 2002, the philanthropic and volunteer response to the events of last Sept. 11 was nothing less than staggering. More than 2 million people donated \$487 million to the Sept. 11 Fund. Two months after the attacks, no more money was solicited. Four months after the attacks, fund administrators asked that any more donations be kept local.

President George W. Bush has often repeated that it is there, in local communities, where acts of goodness can be wielded like a sword in the war on terrorism. "This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture," Bush said. "Through the gathering of momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good."

By leading or sponsoring a Boy Scout troop, we can defeat our enemies. We become role models for young people by coaching baseball teams, helping at school carnivals, teaching Sunday school, cleaning up roadsides or volunteering to help where a call to military duty has created a single-parent household. It may be as simple as dropping by to visit someone who is alone.

It all adds up to something indomitable.

The number of people who volunteer in America is astounding. A national survey in late 2000 by the Pew Partnership for Civic Change showed 54 percent of Americans volunteered time for others in the previous 12 months. Among them were 60 million Americans who volunteered on a regular basis. The study also showed that 77 percent of us took time to help a neighbor with a problem at least once last year.

"The results of this poll debunk the popular notion that Americans are indifferent to the concerns of their communities and are not willing to take the time to get involved," said Suzanne Morse, executive director of the Pew Partnership for Civic Change. "In fact, far from retreating from civic responsibility, Americans are meeting these challenges and asking how they can do more."

**Legion Family Values.** In assessing public response to the attacks of Sept. 11, Bush said the nation was given a glimpse of "what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self ... Many are already serving, and I thank you."

The American Legion family has been serving communities for more than 80 years.

For the 2000-2001 year, with only about 51 percent of posts submitting their numbers, the Legion's report card to Congress included the following:

■ Community service accounted for 3.1 million hours of Legionnaire time, valued at \$5,559,591.

■ Nearly \$2 million in cash was given by the Legion to the VA Voluntary Service.

■ More than 1.5 million volunteer hours were recorded.

■ A total of 55,883 Boy Scouts were sponsored at a cost of more than \$1.7 million.

■ Scholarships valued at \$3,930,636 went to 9,068 students.

■ More than 95,000 pints of blood were collected by Legionnaires.

Also, with a worldwide membership of nearly 1 million, The American Legion Auxiliary raised more than \$14 million and performed about 4.7 million hours of volunteer work, serving an estimated 2 million people, according to 2000-2001 figures.

In 2001, the nearly 250,000 members of Sons of The American Legion logged more than 167,000 volunteer hours in VA health-care facilities alone. Donations from SAL exceeded \$1.6 million nationwide. SAL also raised nearly \$250,000 in 2001 for the Child Welfare Foundation, surpassing all previous years.

**4,000 Hours.** When the president delivered his State-of-the-Union address and asked us to give 4,000 hours, or two years, to community service, my family was entering the first of five months fighting cancer. Friends, neighbors, colleagues and relatives surrounded us, holding tightly to the safety net.

It left me thinking about the many hours my wife logged as a volunteer. She was an American Legion Auxiliary unit president and department officer. She led poppy sales, poster contests, funeral dinners and flag presentations. She collected hundreds of items for the VA gift shop so hospitalized veterans could send Christmas presents to their loved ones. She was involved in dozens of community events and many other service organizations.

She easily surpassed 4,000 hours. But, like most Americans, she did not keep track of time or dollars. Giving, in and of itself, was satisfaction enough. She believed that in the end we shall be judged not by what we take from this life but by what we give. Her greatest wish for our children was that they adopt that same spirit, a spirit which is replicated by millions of Americans all the time, always making our nation strong. ★

*Jeff Stoffer is the managing editor of The American Legion Magazine. His wife, Kate Murphy Stoffer, American Legion Auxiliary Unit 42, Townsend, Mont., died April 29, 2002, from cancer.*



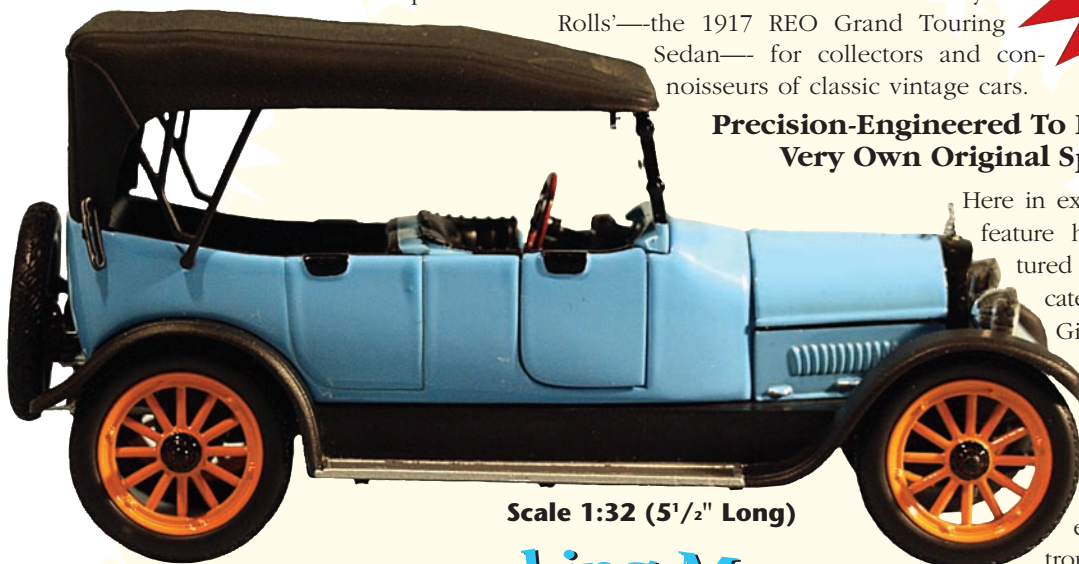
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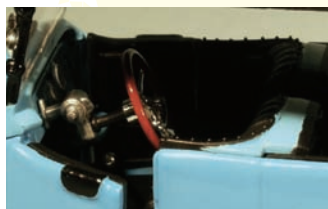
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Minnesota sunflower farm

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*From sea to  
shining sea,  
ours is a land  
as diverse  
and profound  
as the people  
who call it  
home.*



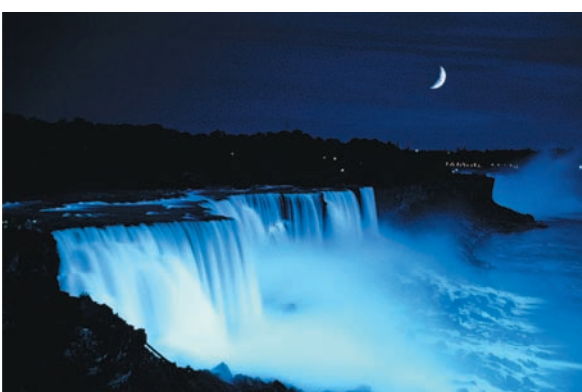
Oregon coast

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We do not inherit  
the land, we borrow  
it from our children.  
– Native American Proverb



Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz.



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Portlan



## America | The Beautiful



Washington, D.C.

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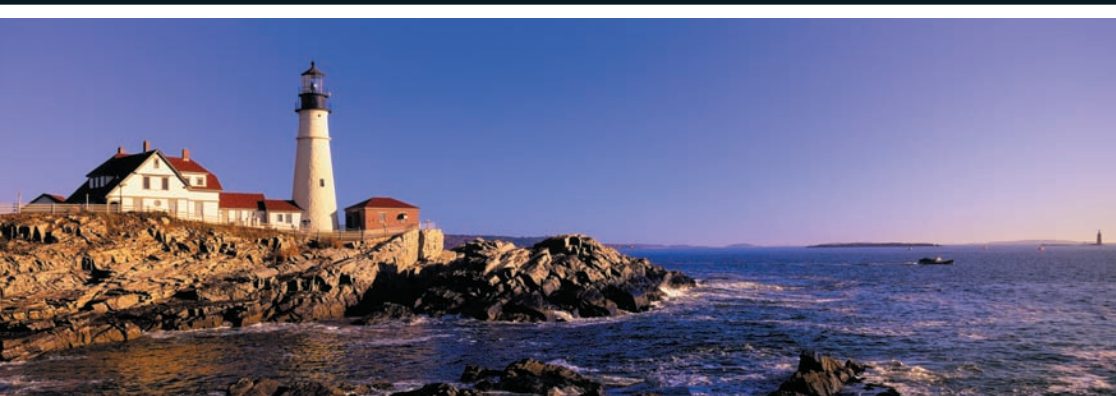


Sequoia National Forest, Calif.

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“This nation is seated on a continent flanked by two great oceans. It is composed of men who are the descendants of pioneers, or, in a sense, pioneers themselves, of men winnowed out from among the nations of the old world by the energy, boldness, and love of adventure found in their own eager hearts. Such a nation, so placed, will surely wrest success from fortune.”

– President Theodore Roosevelt



Portland Head Lighthouse, Portland, Maine

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“Cities,  
like cats,  
will reveal  
themselves  
at night.”

– Poet Rupert Brooke



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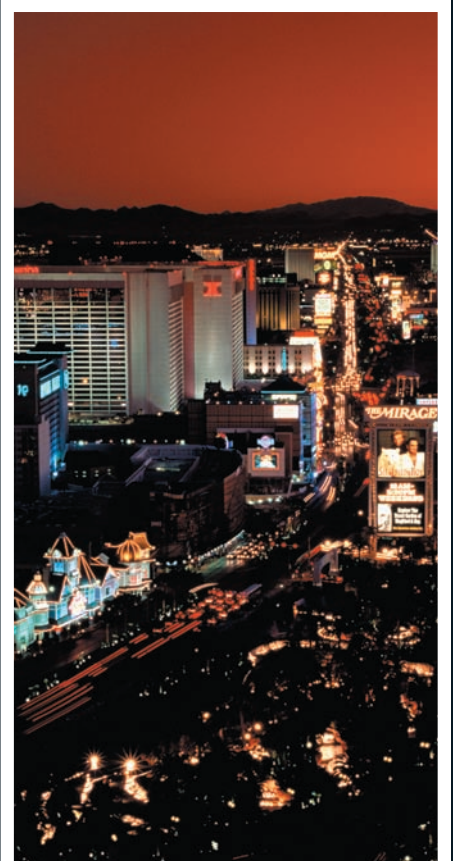
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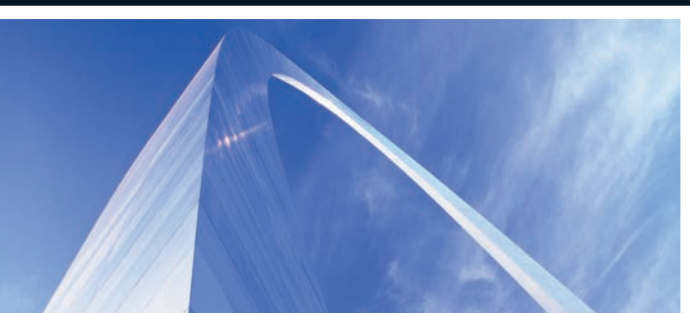
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The Gateway Arch, St. Louis

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“Nature presents to the view of the traveler vast walls of tolerable workmanship, so perfect that I should have thought that nature had attempted here to rival the human art of masonry.”

– Meriwether Lewis



Fall colors, Vermont

Masterfile

“How often persons who have traveled around the world tell you so earnestly that they found a place in Venice where they served American ham and eggs.”

– Horticulturalist Alfred Carl Hottes



Daniel Boone National Forest, Ky.

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Hawaii pineapple farm

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County fair

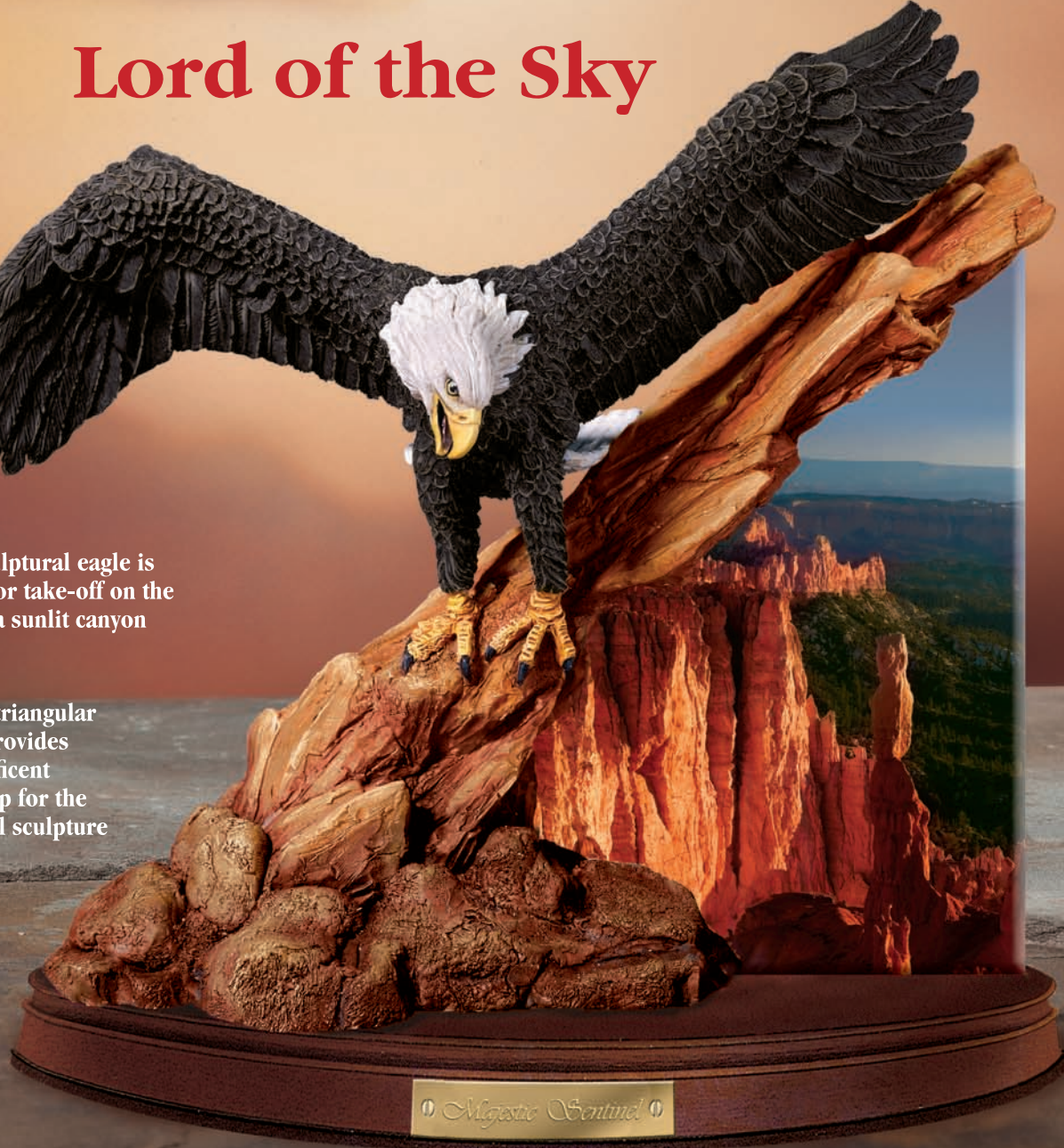
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United States,  
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space where  
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than where  
anybody is.  
This is what  
makes America  
what it is.”

– *Writer Gertrude Stein*



*Big sky country, Mont.*

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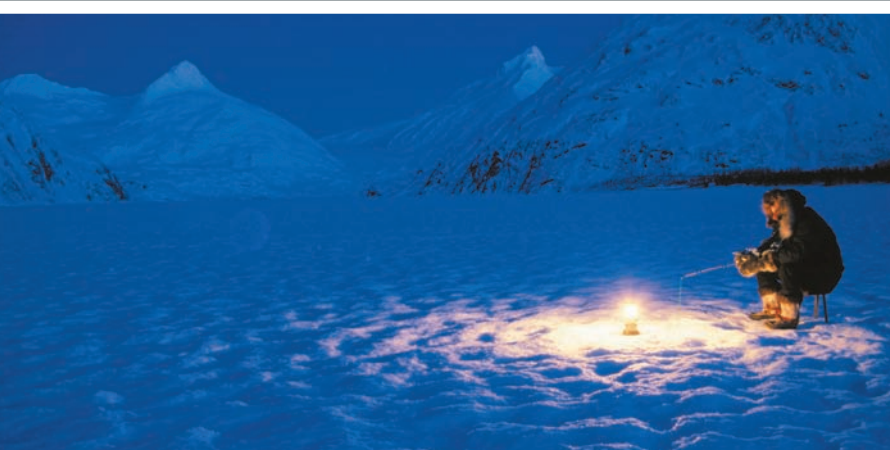
*Grand Tetons National Park, Wyo.*

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*Lake Lafayette, Fla.*

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*Ice fishing in Alaska*

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*Do not send cash*



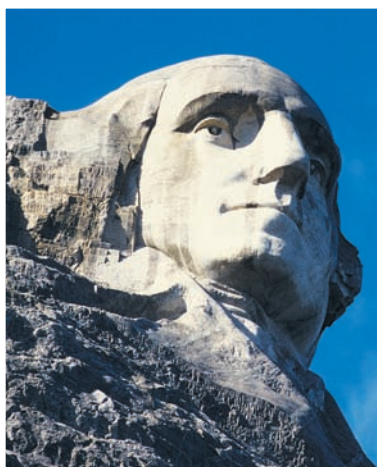
Saguaro National Park, Ariz.

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Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.

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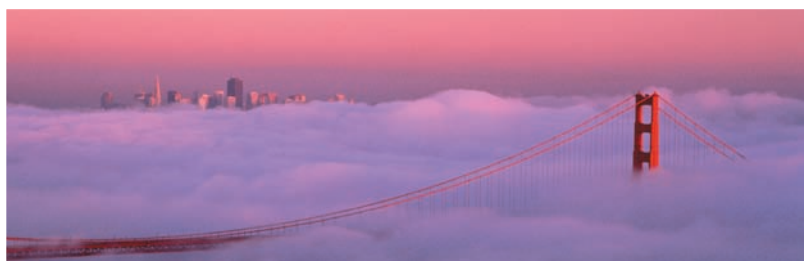


Monument Valley, Utah

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“Out where the handclasp’s a little stronger,  
Out where the smile dwells a little longer,  
That’s where the West begins.”

– Poet and author Arthur Chapman



Golden Gate Bridge, San Francisco

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# Power of the People



*The labor movement advanced America's democratic values.*

**BY JAMES P. HOFFA**

**B**efore the rise of labor unions, the life of the American worker – indeed, any worker – was nasty, brutish and short. When the Industrial Revolution arrived on the shores of our largely agrarian nation, workers were suddenly separated from the products of their labors. No longer self-employed, these new urbanites had no control over their working conditions, which were often appalling.

In desperation, workers united to gain collective power with which to improve their lot. In the early days, unions' battles were steeply uphill. Labor laws were nonexistent, and companies used antitrust laws to break up new unions.

The start of World War I in 1914 eventually led to an industrial boom in the United States that helped drive labor-organizing efforts. The Teamsters and other unions played a crucial role in the war effort. In addition to supporting war production, union members helped secure military success by swiftly moving troops and supplies from ports to battle lines. Speeding through France and Germany, American trucks were critical to the

Allied effort after the United States entered the war in 1917.

The catastrophic stock-market crash of 1929 triggered a chain of misery and despair in North America. As banks collapsed, the jobless rate jumped from 3 percent to 25 percent. The Great Depression hit the membership rolls of union locals throughout the nation.

In response, President Franklin D. Roosevelt fought for working families and won passage of a series of legislative initiatives designed to pull the country out of the Depression. He relied heavily on U.S. labor leaders for political support. The National Recovery Administration established minimum wages and maximum hours of labor for each industry. Hours were reduced to spread employment over more workers. Roosevelt also won passage of the landmark National Labor Relations Act, which codified workers' rights to collective bargaining and protected them from management interference or intimidation aimed at union activity.

By that point in history, it was clear the United States was becoming the strongest, most powerful nation on





Unions | Make America Strong

The movement's dedication to worker, civil and human rights has helped make America a beacon to the world, earning the support of friends and the respect of adversaries.

earth, largely due to contributions of union workers and the American labor movement.

**Support of War Efforts.** Union workers were integral to the Allies' victory in World War II, contributing both on the battlefield and the home front. They were key players in the post-war economic boom that elevated the prosperity of all Americans. Unions also were, and continue to be, on the front lines of battles for civil rights and social justice.

As the most representative force of employed Americans, union workers have fought with valor in all overseas military conflicts. "Rosie the Riveter," the legendary defense worker who symbolized World War II's female defense work force, would not have been necessary had the then-pre-dominantly male union work force not been recruited from the shop floor to the battlefield.

The labor movement's dedication to patriotism and American

values continues today. In response to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, union drivers, firefighters and medical personnel were among the first on the scene, providing urgently needed support for the rescue operations. Union telephone workers, electricians and engineers worked around the clock to restore the basic infrastructure of our economy and national security.

### Advanced Democratic Values.

The last century has proven that the strength of this great nation relies on the continued vibrancy of its labor movement. Unions dedication to worker, civil and human rights has helped make America a beacon to the world, earning the support of friends and the respect of adversaries. Labor's contribution to America's economy and productivity provides this nation with the resources to advance democratic values – and, when necessary, to prosecute wars.

When the founding fathers declared independence from a tyrannical England, it was more than a political move. It was a bold step toward the proposition that all men (and women) are created equal. In material terms, that means those whose wealth is inherited have no greater claim to rights than those whose wealth is derived from the sweat of their brows.

This is the legal underpinning of the modern middle class, a class that would not exist in significant size if not for unions. As the folks who brought you the weekend, labor unions helped achieve many of the living standards that most Americans now take for granted. Unions continue to fight the good fight today. And with each victory, America becomes stronger. ★

*James P. Hoffa is the general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.*

## A history of the U.S. labor movement

**1794** One of the first U.S. labor strikes takes place in New York with printers fighting for shorter hours and higher pay.

**1828** The Working Men's Party, the world's first labor party, forms. Among the items on the agenda: restrictions on child labor along with the abolition of sweatshops and 10-hour workdays.

**1881** The Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions (FOTLU) is founded.

**1882** Labor Day is celebrated for the first time Sept. 5 in New York City, sponsored by the New York Central Labor Union.

**1886** FOTLU becomes the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

**1886** An estimated 200,000 union workers strike on May 1 for an 8-hour work day.

**1906** Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle" arouses public sympathy for packing-house industry workers who suffer disfiguring, job-related injuries.

**1907** The Bureau of Labor estimates that of the 26 million male workers across the nation, between 15,000 and 17,000 were killed on the job in that year. The number includes 3,200 coal miners and 4,500 railroad workers.

**1911** The National Safety Council, a pro-business workplace-safety organization, is established.

**1933** Metropolitan Life Insurance Company identifies 94 poisonous substances used in 900 different occupations, up from 52 in 1922.

**1935** More than 100 black steelworkers in northern Indiana sue subsidiaries of U.S. Steel for unhealthy working conditions leading to silicosis and other lung diseases. They settle out of court in 1938 for an undisclosed amount.

**1935** The Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) is formed.

**1936** The National Labor Relations Act protects the right to organize unions.

**1939-1945** Union membership grows from 8.9 million to 14.7 million.

**1945** A wave of labor strikes, totaling 4,750 and involving 3.4 million workers, takes place in America, including companies in the auto, coal, steel and rubber industries.

**1955** AFL and CIO merge.

**1966** The National Labor Relations Board rules that health and safety is a mandatory subject of bargaining.

**1968** The surgeon general reports that 65 percent of workers studied were exposed to toxic materials or harmful physical agents. Only 25 percent were adequately protected, according to the report.

**1970** The Occupational Safety and Health Act, backed by various labor unions, is enacted.

**1976** New Directions grant program helps fund training for thousands of workers about workplace hazards and their legal rights.

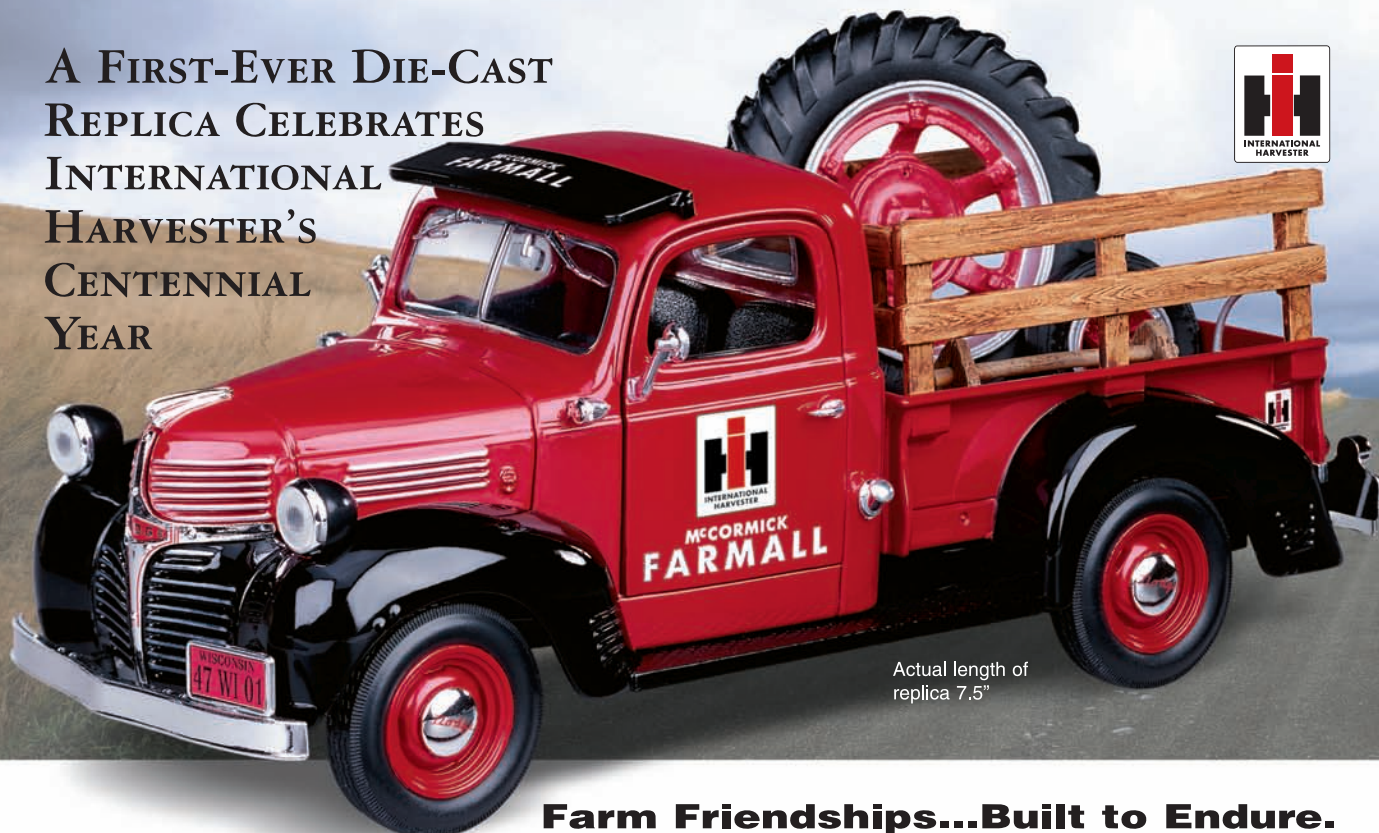
**1986** After years of lawsuits and passage of local legislation, the Emergency Planning Community Right-to-Know Act is passed, requiring companies to disclose environmental practices.

**1996-present** Labor activists work to reform the Right-to-Know Act to include the worker's "right-to-act" for a safer workplace. Reform would give workers the rights to inspect facilities with safety experts, to refuse unsafe work, and to work with management to implement industrial safety and health programs.

Sources: Clary-Meuser Research Network, PBS.org, Stewards File Cabinet



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# The Many Complexions of Our Nation



*The journey to multicultural harmony has been rough.*

*We must remember it's a journey not yet complete.*

**BY MONROE H. LITTLE JR.**

The names of those who lost their lives Sept. 11 read like a global roll call: Aoyama, Barbuto, Chung, el' Sharul, Frank, Hanson, Intarchz, Ivanovich, Koecheler, Lyles, Mbaya, O'Brien, Ogonowski, Shefi, Vasquez ... the list goes on for pages. Some 150 nations were reportedly represented among the victims of the World Trade Center attacks. If the ethnic origins of all the American-born citizens who perished that day were included, the number of nations impacted by the event would probably be even more.

One does not need a tragedy like Sept. 11 to remind us of America's diversity. Peruse any U.S. history textbook, newspaper or magazine and you will find scores of names and images that remind us of our nation's richly diverse heritage. At a White House event celebrating Hispanic Heritage Month last October, President George W. Bush proclaimed, "The diversity of America has always been a great strength of this country. Here you can be proud of your cultural heritage, proud of your ancestry, proud of your native language and still be a proud American."

Today, such words of praise on be-

half of diversity hardly raise an eyebrow among the vast majority of Americans.

It has not always been that way.

Americans have historically exhibited a certain ambiguity toward their own diversity. The religious, racial, gender, cultural and ethnic diversity of America has been bifurcated as both a source of national strength, as Bush noted, and as a source of national weakness by a significant minority of Americans in our own time.

Americans' love-hate relationship with diversity began quite early in the nation's history. The initial reaction of European colonists to Native Americans was a mixture of attraction and repulsion. They were impressed with the Indians' hospitality. They also were awed by the indigenous inhabitants' familiarity with the New World's topography as well as its native animals and crops – a knowledge Europeans used to ensure their continued survival in the Americas. At the same time, however, they viewed the Indian as a strange creature, a savage heathen who was their religious, cultural and racial inferior. Before long, the relatively benign first encounter between



Diversity | Makes America Strong

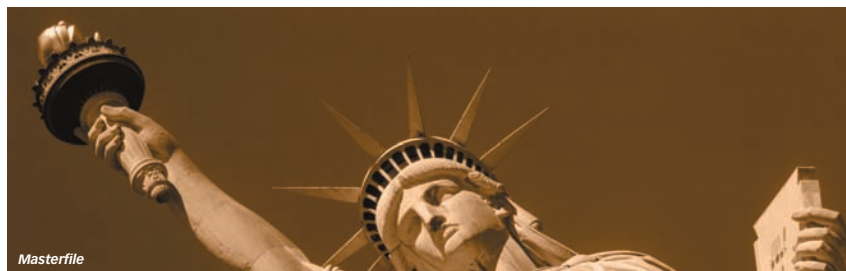


Europeans and Native Americans was shattered by the outbreak of fierce and bloody hostilities, beginning with the so-called “massacre of 1622” in Virginia and continuing intermittently for the next 268 years.

**A History of Differences.** Perhaps nowhere was the Manichean dualism that characterized Americans’ perspective on diversity more apparent than in their relationship with people of African descent. In the pre-Civil War South, a fully elaborated plural societal structure was built on slavery, organized around the plantation and governed by slave codes. Like the attitudes of colonial Englishmen toward Indians, white southerners viewed Africans as a strange and alien collection of creatures. They were repelled by the seeming differences between white and black religion, sexual mores, illiteracy, dress, personal modesty and adornment. Even in the North, where slavery had been disavowed by the early 19th century, its heritage of black subordination indelibly stamped the plural edifice of racial segmentation, discrimination and exclusion on that region as well.

After the Civil War, the nation’s fear of diversity led to the creation of new patterns of racial discrimination and exclusion in both regions, which manifested themselves as de jure and de facto segregation. In this instance, the nation’s diversity was not viewed as a strength but served as a justification for the initial enslavement of Africans and the subsequent exclusion of their progeny from the mainstream of American society. This tragic situation would not be significantly challenged until the civil-rights movement of the 1960s.

The first great wave of immigration to the United States also reflects our nation’s uneasy relationship with diversity. The arrival of large numbers of Irish immigrants in the United States during the 1830s, with their unique customs and religion, precipitated an outpouring of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiment. Old-stock Americans, charged with



Masterfile

Penned in 1883 by New York City poet Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus” was published nearly three years before the Statue of Liberty was erected in 1886 as a gift to the United States from France. After its initial publication, the poem fell into obscurity until 1901, 14 years after Lazarus’ death, when it was placed on a bronze plaque at the base of the statue. As the 20th century unfolded, the poet’s words resonated and became synonymous with hope and freedom for immigrants who would pass through Ellis Island and ultimately stitch together much of America’s tapestry of cultures.

## The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,  
With conquering limbs astride from land  
to land;

Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates  
shall stand

A mighty woman with a torch, whose  
flame

Is the imprisoned lightning, and her  
name

Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand  
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild  
eyes command

The air-bridged harbor that twin cities  
frame.

“Keep, ancient lands, your storied  
pomp!” cries she

With silent lips. “Give me your tired, your  
poor,

Your huddled masses yearning to breathe  
free,

The wretched refuse of your teeming  
shore.

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost  
to me.

I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

Protestant evangelical fervor, considered the Irish to be minions of Roman popery, dispatched to the United States to subvert and destroy American institutions. Clashes between old-stock Americans and Irish in cities such as Boston, New York and Philadelphia became so frequent and violent that they led to the formation of the first professional urban police forces in this country. In the

wake of Irish immigration, anti-foreign parties arose in New York and other American cities after 1835, evolving gradually into the powerful, nativist “Know-Nothing” agitation of the 1850s and the formation of the ironically named American Party. After the Civil War, a second major wave of immigration – this time from Italy and eastern Europe – engendered a similar reaction of patri-



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otic lobbying groups, which culminated in the passage of the 1924 Federal Immigration Restriction Act.

In the western United States, the arrival of large numbers of Chinese in the 1850s to construct the western half of the transcontinental railroad elicited an American backlash against them as well. At first tolerated for their willingness to perform menial, or otherwise undesirable tasks, by the late 19th century the American Federation of Labor was alleging that they brought “nothing but filth, death and disease” with them. That opinion, shared by a large number of Americans, eventually led to blanket condemnation of all Asian immigration to this country and passage of the first anti-immigrant legislation in the history of the United States in 1882.

**Friend or Foe?** If diversity has been the source of so much turmoil in America’s history, how can it be a source of our nation’s strength? Indeed, events in more than a few of the world’s nations suggest that diversity can just as easily undermine a nation’s power and threaten its very existence. Reports of widespread violence in Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Malaysia, Ethiopia, Chechnya, Zimbabwe, Kashmir, the Congo, Bosnia, India and the Philippines all have roots that seem traceable to religious or ethnic diversity of those places.

While many Americans consider diversity a national blessing, not so insignificant a number view it with fear and loathing. Former presidential candidate Pat Buchanan warns readers in his recent book, “The Death of the West,” that the present-day United States is a confused tottering “conglomeration of peoples with almost nothing in common” and that the uncontrolled immigration of peoples of “different colors and creed and cultures and a rise of anti-Western” culture antithetical to established religious, cultural and moral norms will eventually lead to the destruction of the United States.

*Just as its supporters err in simply promoting diversity as an unqualified good, its detractors can be equally faulted for attacking diversity as a clear and present danger.*

Here, in essence, is the ideological core of nativism. Whether the nativist is a working man, a Protestant evangelist, a northern reformer or a Catholic conservative, he stands for a kind of nationalism. He believes – whether he is trembling at a Mexican menace to American labor or attacking the multicultural content of school textbooks – that some influence originating from abroad threatens the very life of the nation within. Nativism, therefore, is an intense opponent to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign, i.e. un-American connections. Specific nativist antagonisms vary widely in response to the changing character of minority irritants and the shifting conditions of the day, but through each separate hostility runs the connecting energizing force of modern nationalism. While drawing on much broader cultural antipathies and ethnocentric judgments, nativism translates them into a zeal to destroy a distinctively American way of life.

Even our commander in chief recognizes that a resurgence of nativism is not the answer to our problems. Nine days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, during a nationally televised address to a joint session of Congress, President Bush offered a solemn injunction to his audience: “I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background.”

On the surface, Bush’s request appears simple enough. If we

pause and begin to consider its deeper ramifications, however, it is clear that what he is asking of each American is complex with strong potential for contentious debate. What, for example, are our principles? By the same token, what are the values of America? Is there a clear consensus among any of us about the answers to

any of these questions? And how are the answers to these questions linked to diversity? Does the key to making diversity work in the United States hinge on a tolerance of differences, as its advocates claim, or does it require something more of us?

Just as its supporters err in simply promoting diversity as an unqualified good, its detractors can be equally faulted for attacking diversity as a clear and present danger. Diversity is neither inherently good nor bad. It is the manner in which we address this issue that will determine its future.

It behooves every American to recognize that this society’s religious, ethnic, racial and cultural diversity carries with it advantages and disadvantages alike. It is our responsibility to maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages. This requires that we revisit, explore and ask hard, probing questions about our history. It requires that we understand the role of universal public schooling in the creation and maintenance of a national culture. It requires that America’s fourth estate understands its responsibility to genuinely inform, rather than merely entertain, the public.

Above all, diversity demands that we reacquaint ourselves with the nation’s professed principles and values in an effort to transform them from mere clichés to meaningful words in our individual lives and national policy. Then, and only then, can we assume the attendant responsibilities that come with diversity and make it a force for national greatness. ★

*Monroe H. Little Jr. is the director of Afro-American studies at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis.*



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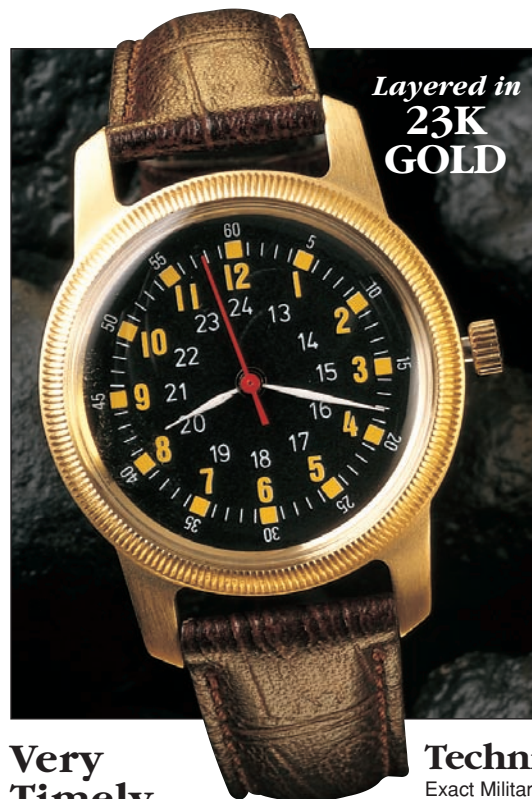
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# Only in. America



*The liberty to  
choose one's  
own destiny  
makes the  
United States  
a jewel  
among  
nations.*

**BY DINESH  
D'SOUZA**

**M**ore than any country in the world, America is the land of opportunity. This is usually understood in economic terms: the ordinary person has a better shot at success in the United States than anywhere else. As an immigrant to the United States, however, I view the notion of opportunity more broadly. America is the country where we are the architects of our own destiny. This is the place where we get to write the scripts of our own lives.

Admittedly the first thing that strikes the newcomer upon arriving in the United States is how well the common man lives. Rich people live well everywhere in the world. In many countries, however, the poor are slaves to necessity. The greatness of America is that it has extended the benefits of comfort and affluence, traditionally enjoyed by very few, to a large segment of society. Few people in America have to wonder where their next meal is coming from. Even sick people who don't have money or insurance will receive medical care at hospital emergency rooms. Every child is offered an education, and most have the chance to go on to college.

Ordinary Americans not only enjoy security and dignity but comforts that other societies reserve for the elite. We now live in a country where construction workers pay \$4 for a nonfat latte, where maids drive nice cars and where plumbers take their families on vacations to Europe. I recently asked an acquaintance of mine who has been trying to relocate to the United States for years why he is so eager to come. He replied, "I really want to move to a country where the poor people are fat."

Some European countries offer their citizens more welfare-state benefits, such as national health insurance. In return, even middle-class Europeans pay nearly 50 percent of their income in taxes. America offers fewer government benefits but vastly greater economic opportunity and social mobility.

Only in America could Pierre Omidyar, whose parents are from Iran and who was educated in France, have started the highly successful Internet auction site eBay. Only in America could Vinod Khosla, the son of an Indian army officer, have become a leading venture capitalist, a shaper of the technology industry and a billionaire.



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but it guarantees you  
the opportunity  
to discover happiness  
for yourself.



Only in America could Ronald Reagan, who grew up poor in the Midwest, go on to become a Hollywood star, governor of California and president of the United States.

**Choosing Your Destiny.** The self-made success story is a typically American tale. Other countries can produce success stories too, but they are atypical and improbable. Wealth in the Third World, and even in Europe, is frequently the product of birth or inheritance. In America, by contrast, the rags-to-riches narrative is common. Virtually every city abounds with immigrants who came to the United States with nothing and now run thriving businesses with dozens, if not hundreds, of employees. Moreover, most successful people in this country have earned their own money. The authors of “The Millionaire Next Door” estimate that 80 percent of American millionaires are self-made. That’s why Americans tell their sons and daughters to “be what you want to be,” because they have often seen people who have fulfilled their dreams. Elsewhere such a notion would be considered naïve, if not ridiculous.

Recently I asked myself what would my life have been like if I had never come to the United States, if I had stayed in my native country of India. I grew up in a middle-class family in Bombay. My father was a chemical engineer, my mother an office secretary. I was raised without luxury but not lacking in any necessities. My standard of living in America is higher, but it is not a radical difference.

My life has changed far more dramatically in other ways. If I had remained in India, I would probably have lived my entire life within a five-mile radius of where I was born. I would undoubtedly have married a girl of my identical religious and socioeconomic background. I would have faced relentless social pressure to become a doctor, an engineer or a computer programmer. I would have socialized largely within my ethnic community. I would have had a whole set of opinions that could be predicted in advance. In sum, my destiny would to a large

degree have been given to me.

By coming to America, I have broken free of these traditional confines. I came to Arizona as an exchange student, but a year later I was enrolled at Dartmouth College. There I fell in with a group of students that was actively involved in politics; soon I switched my major from economics to English literature. By the time I graduated I decided that I should become a writer, which is something you can do in America. That is not easy to do in India.

Soon after graduation I became the managing editor of a policy magazine and began to write freelance articles. Someone in the Reagan White House was apparently impressed with my work, because I was called in for an interview and hired as a senior domestic policy analyst. I found it strange to be working in the White House, because at the time I was not an American citizen. I am sure that such a thing could not happen anywhere else in the world.

In traditional cultures like the one I grew up in, birth is destiny. Those cultures attach a great deal of importance to such questions as what tribe you come from, whether you are male or female and whether you are the eldest son. Your future and your happiness hinge on these things. If you are a Bengali, you can count on other Bengalis to help you and on others to discriminate against you; if you are female, then certain forms of society and certain professions are closed to you. If you are the eldest son, you inherit the family house, and your siblings are expected to follow your direction. What this means is that once your tribe, caste, sex and family position have been established at birth, your life takes a course that is largely determined for you.

**In the Driver’s Seat.** Far from trying to control the destiny of their offspring, American parents typically send their teen-age sons and daughters away to college, where they live on their own and learn independence. During these years, young people choose their own fields of interest and develop their

own identities. It is not uncommon in the United States for two brothers who come from the same gene pool and were raised in similar circumstances to do quite different things: the eldest becomes a gas-station attendant, the younger moves up to be vice president at General Motors; the eldest marries his high-school sweetheart and raises four children, the youngest refuses to settle down; one is the Methodist he was raised to be, the other becomes a Christian Scientist or a Buddhist. What to be, where to live, whom to love, whom to marry, what to believe, what religion to practice – these are decisions that Americans make for themselves.

In most parts of the world, no matter what your socioeconomic background, your identity and your fate are to a large extent handed to you. In America, however, we determine these things for ourselves. Immigrants who come here seeking economic opportunity are amazed to discover that America offers an even greater form of opportunity: the opportunity to direct the course of one’s life. This notion of people being in the driver’s seat of their own lives is the incredibly powerful idea behind the worldwide appeal of America.

If there is a single phrase that captures this, it is the “pursuit of happiness.” America doesn’t guarantee happiness, but it guarantees you the opportunity to discover happiness for yourself. Nobel laureate V.S. Naipaul analyzes the term this way: “It is an elastic idea; it fits all men. It implies a certain kind of society, a certain kind of awakened spirit. So much is contained in it: the idea of the individual, responsibility, choice, the life of the intellect, the idea of vocation and perfectibility and achievement ... because of that, other more rigid systems in the end blow away.” ★

*Dinesh D’Souza is author of “What’s So Great About America” (Regnery Publishing) and is Rishwain Research Scholar at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution. His e-mail address is thedsouzas@aol.com.*



# "The Amazing, True Story How One Man Overcame Impotence"

by Thomas Walton

For the millions of men like yourself who suffer from the distress of sexual dysfunction, nothing can be more encouraging for you than what you are about to read.

Mr. Allen Jacobson, a resident of New York had a great sex life until 1996 when an unforeseen circumstance hit him hard.

Like many of us, he probably thought he was invincible to health problems, but that year he underwent heart surgery and was hospitalized for six months with complications.

## ***That Was Only The Beginning Of His Problems***

After returning home, he began to realize that his battle over heart disease was just the beginning of his worries.

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*"Prior to 1996 my sex life was pretty good... Then in 1996 I had undergone open heart surgery and with complications was hospitalized for 6 months.*

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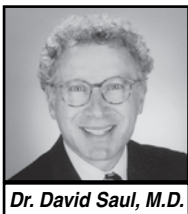
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# The Power of Laughter



*The ability to have fun, even in the wake of tragedy, sets us apart.*

**BY LARRY WILDE**

In the days following Sept. 11, it was hard to imagine that any of us would laugh again. Terrorism not only destroyed lives and buildings, but it seemed to obliterate America's appetite for irony as well.

However, within two weeks, the American sense of humor began to recover. People desperate for relief from the most terrible tragedy on our soil since Pearl Harbor gradually turned to our country's greatest natural resource: laughter.

As time passed, humor re-emerged, essential to survival and recovery. The first butts of jokes, of course, were the bad guys. Jay Leno, late-night guardian of mainstream humor, expressed it this way: "When times are good, you make fun of the king. When times are bad, you make fun of the enemy."

Osama bin Laden was the target not only of air strikes but of a million zingers as well. A few examples:

*Osama goes to a fortuneteller to find out how long he has to live. The fortuneteller informs him he'll die on a famous American holiday. "Which*

*one?" bin Laden asks.*

*"Whatever day you die will be a famous American holiday," the fortuneteller replies.*

Or this:

*Intelligence analysts have compiled a psychological profile of Osama bin Laden. Sources say he harbors deep-seated hatred for his mother, mostly because she has much better facial hair.*

Or this:

*During the early days of conflict, American forces intercepted a message bin Laden sent to his fighting men in the caves of Tora Bora: "Oh, mighty warriors, I command you. I must have volunteers, a few brave Taliban who will retreat a little slower."*

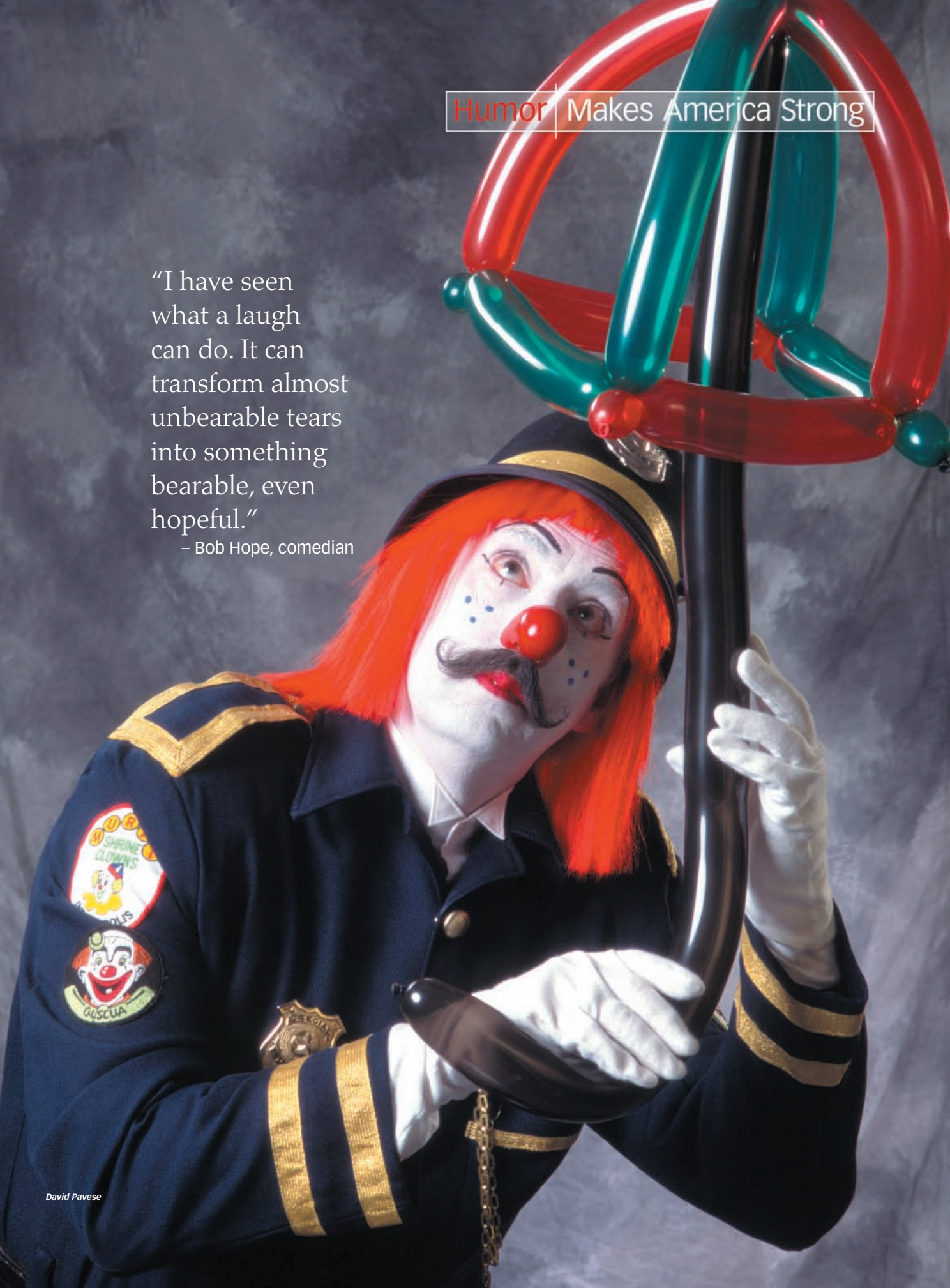
Almost overnight, the Internet was rife with similar gags. One could not go online without encountering jokes about terrorism. It was as if we all suddenly needed the liberation of laughter. The nation's psychologists



## Humor | Makes America Strong

"I have seen  
what a laugh  
can do. It can  
transform almost  
unbearable tears  
into something  
bearable, even  
hopeful."

– Bob Hope, comedian



approved wholeheartedly. They placed their stamp of approval on this distinctive American characteristic because we faced a period of gnawing, heart-rending anxiety, and simplistic jokes help you survive and thrive in difficult times. Take the following wise crack:

*A European news agency has just reported that Irish Special Forces have surrounded a department store in Dublin. They learned that Bed Linen was on the second floor.*

Iranian-American comic Maz Jobrani amused audiences with jokes about how his Middle Eastern friends were changing their names to Tony, trying to pass as Italians.

Shazia Mirza, the only Muslim woman known to perform stand-up comedy, told audiences, "We're not all fanatics. It's very easy to distinguish me from terrorists. They have bigger moustaches than I do."

**Power of Laughter.** Once again, laughter has become a therapeutic mechanism for coping. "Humor is an incredibly helpful and adaptive response to stress," says Alan Lipman, director of Georgetown University's Center for the Study of Violence. "When we laugh, we feel less vulnerable."

Aggie Ternasky, a county health department nurse from California, spent 17 days in New York and counseled 200 people in the midst of horrifying sadness at Ground Zero. In that environment, she was able to help others and even find rays of humor. The protective gear Ternasky – just 4-foot-9 – needed to wear was 10 sizes too big. Rescue workers had to strap duct tape all over her jacket and boots.

She pranced around, eliciting chuckles from the crews.

"That's what we mental-health workers encourage – that it's OK to laugh," she said.

Professional members of the laugh-making fraternity – comedians, comedy writers, humorists,

*Laughter not only lifts the spirit; it is a natural pressure valve. When we're down in the dumps, we need a boost, something to help us over the truly tough times. Smiles, chuckles and old-fashioned guffaws are miraculous physical phenomena.*

cartoonists – live by a long-standing equation: tragedy plus time equal comedy.

As days slowly pass, astonishingly, any event, no matter how unfortunate or catastrophic, can yield to humor. H.G. Wells, the English novelist and historian, wrote, "The crisis of today is the joke of tomorrow."

When comedian Bill Cosby's son was murdered, the nation shared his grief. Here was an internationally known entertainer whose stock in trade was making people laugh. How would this man deal with a tragedy of such magnitude?

In the weeks following the murder, Cosby was interviewed on television. After expressing his sorrow and heartbreak, he said, "I think it's time for me to tell the people that we have to laugh. We've got to laugh. You can turn painful situations around through laughter. If you can find humor in anything ... you can survive it."

The Marx Brothers' zany antics were popular during the Great Depression because they offered complete escape from the struggles for survival people endured daily. Despondent audiences were transported to a world of fun and frivolity.

Millions of men and women who served at home and abroad in our armed forces during World War II, Vietnam and the Gulf War can attest to the therapeutic value of lightheartedness brought to them by Bob Hope. He has been our nation's point man on the comedy front for the better part of a century. "I have seen what a laugh can do. It can transform almost unbear-

able tears into something bearable, even hopeful," he said.

How does having a humorous outlook help overcome what seems to be an insurmountable challenge? What is it about humor that is such a strong influence in fighting grief and depression?

Why is the very act of laughing recognized by health-care professionals as being extremely beneficial to our mental and physical health?

The importance of laughter to well-being is validated in the film "Patch Adams," starring Robin Williams. Based on the autobiography of Dr. Hunter Adams, the movie follows his uphill battle to integrate laughter into medical therapy for patients. He believes in the restorative powers of compassion, love and laughter, having seen the results firsthand.

A Southern Illinois University study reveals that "humor has the potential to help one put stressful situations into a less threatening perspective."

Researchers in the Laughter Project at the University of California-Santa Barbara have found "that laughter did as well in reducing stress as more complex biofeedback training programs."

Laughter not only lifts the spirit; it is a natural pressure valve. When we're down in the dumps, we need a boost, something to help us over the truly tough times. Smiles, chuckles and old-fashioned guffaws are miraculous physical phenomena that make us feel good all over, with the power to bring a twinkle to the eye and calm in the raging storm.

Medical science has shown us that laughter can be our most powerful coping mechanism. Mark Twain, the great American humorist, summed it up best when he said, "The human race has one really effective weapon, and that is laughter." ★

*Larry Wilde is a motivational speaker and author of 53 books on humor, including "Great Comedians Talk About Comedy" (Executive Books). His e-mail address is larrywilde@aol.com.*



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police and  
EMTs are  
born to  
serve  
others.*

**BY HOWARD  
SAFIR**

**D**uring my years as both New York City fire commissioner and police commissioner, I gave 28 eulogies. I found it the most difficult part of my job.

To adequately characterize someone who ran into a burning building to save a life, faced armed felons and was shot, or lost his life racing to the scene of an accident to give medical care, is a task I've always felt is impossible. Yet I got through each eulogy and am told some were even eloquent. If that is the case, it is because the men and women I eulogized were inspiring. The words I used – “hero,” “dedicated,” “selfless,” “brave,” “courageous” – describe a group of human beings who are different from most of us.

Although my experience lies mainly in New York, the bravery and dedication displayed by police, firefighters and EMTs occur in agencies throughout the United States.

It is not just a job. It is a calling. My wife says that when God sends a baby to us, He places within the child police genes or fire genes, giving the child no choice but to dedicate an entire life to helping others. That may or not be the case, but I can attest that I have met

few police officers or firefighters who do what they do for the money. They are fiercely proud of what they do and who they are. It was no surprise to me when I heard that more than 10 percent of the fatalities at the World Trade Center tragedy were police officers, firefighters and EMTs – specifically 338 FDNY, 23 NYPD and 47 Port Authority Police officers. These brave men and women saved tens of thousands of lives and sacrificed their own.

**All About “The Job.”** I have a T-shirt given to me by a firefighter. It says, “We run in, while others run out.” What kind of person voluntarily and with great enthusiasm runs into a burning building? It is counterintuitive, yet when I was fire commissioner, the loudest complaints were voiced when we transferred a firefighter to a fire house without much activity. They all wanted to fight fires and save lives.

When I visited injured firefighters and police officers at hospitals, no matter how seriously injured they were, the first question asked was, “How soon can I get back to the job?” That’s what it is all about to these heroes. Their



Heroes | Make America Strong



When one bleeds,  
they all bleed.  
When you attack one,  
you attack them all.

lives and the lives of their families revolve around tradition and sacrifice. It is a tradition steeped in morals, a deep religious faith and an appreciative family.

Firefighters and police officers have two families: biological and extended, meaning the department. They are brothers and sisters whose lives depend on each other. When one bleeds, they all bleed. When you attack one, you attack them all. They are tough and hard as nails when they confront danger, yet the first to be soft and compassionate to those in need. I have seen firefighters storm through flames and then cry beside the lifeless body of an infant. I have seen hardened homicide detectives console the families of murder victims with hugs, and I have seen emergency-service police officers crawl out onto ledges 60 stories high to reason with potential suicide victims or pull workers from broken scaffolding.

When I watched recruit classes graduate from the police academy, I took pictures with their families after the ceremonies. It was more common than not to meet a brother or sister in uniform and a retired father or grandfather who had been on the job in previous years.

The fire and police departments of this country have been beacons of opportunity for thousands of families who have dedicated their intelligence, expertise and lives to protecting what we hold most dear: our safety and our freedom.

**Heroes All.** Sydney Hook, a prominent social scientist, wrote a paper titled "The Hero In History." In it, he asks whether history makes the hero or the hero makes history. Anyone who has watched police officers and firefighters at the scenes of disasters, accidents and emergencies knows the answer. These heroic men and women leave a lasting and positive effect on history. I think about some of these heroes and the many lives they saved during the nearly eight years I served as fire and police commissioner. During that time I learned that

police officers, firefighters and EMTs fit a certain profile. In almost every instance they come from strong family units where they were taught the value of freedom and religion.

An unusually high percentage of those who become emergency workers have prior military service. The dedication and discipline they learn in our country's armed forces easily translate to what our emergency workers are required to deal with on a daily basis. The fact that most police officers and firefighters are active religious participants also indicates the kind of individual who on a daily basis puts his life on the line for others. This requires a tremendous faith in the goodness of man and a belief that God looks out for those who are indeed their brothers' keepers. Every police and fire department is replete with organizations based on religious beliefs. Whether it is the Holy Name Society, the Emerald Society or the Shomrin Society, these groups provide the kind of support that sustains those who face danger daily.

**Lives Lived Well.** In March 1994, shortly after I became New York City's fire commissioner, I witnessed firsthand how local firefighters responded to disaster and tragedy.

A fire broke out in a brownstone on Watt Street near Greenwich Village. The first company to respond was Ladder 5, led by Capt. John Drennan, a larger-than-life legend in the FDNY. He was known for incredible feats of courage and strength, as well as an ability to inspire the people he led. Drennan raced to the second floor of the Watt Street building searching for anyone in danger. He was followed by two young firefighters, Christopher Siedenburg and Jimmy Young. A flashover hit, and a giant ball of flame engulfed them. Young was killed instantly. Siedenburg and Drennan were severely burned.

When I arrived at the emergency room, I saw up close how horrible and painful a burn injury is. On two gurneys side by side were Siedenburg and Drennan,

both with third-degree burns covering between 70 percent and 80 percent of their bodies. Siedenburg was unconscious, but Drennan – although in unbelievable pain – was lucid. Over and over, he asked about the condition of his men.

Doctors and nurses knew they were fighting a losing battle. Siedenburg succumbed to his injuries. Drennan hung on and continued to ask about his men until he was sedated.

That night, Mayor Rudy Giuliani and I had the painful duty of telling the families the fate of their loved ones.

We first met Vina Drennan in the waiting room of New York Hospital. When the mayor and I hugged her and told her John was critically ill, she just looked at us and told us that John was strong and that she had faith God would take care of him. Then, with a small smile, she told the mayor she was probably the only person on Staten Island who did not vote for him. The ability of Vina Drennan to find even a small bit of humor during this terrible time in her life is typical of the brave families that produce men like John Drennan. They rely on their faith and belief in God's will. They believe a short life well-lived has meaning and purpose.

Forty days later, after a heroic struggle and numerous surgeries, Drennan died. I visited him each of those days, and the hospital never lacked a crowd of firefighters providing support to the family. During that time, the men did everything. They mowed Vina Drennan's lawn. They painted her house. They took her children to sporting events.

Drennan's funeral Mass was conducted at St Patrick's Cathedral. During the eulogy, I said that in the past, men sat around campfires and sang songs of their heroes. In days to come, brave men will sit around kitchen tables and speak in of the legend and legacy of Capt. John Drennan and aspire to be just like him.

**Uncommon Valor.** Similar stories can be told about police officers who face armed felons or



EMTs who put themselves in harm's way at disasters. No better example exists than what occurred Sept. 11 at the World Trade Center. Police officers, firefighters and EMTs by the score brought victims out of the towers, and once they had their charges safe, they turned around and ran back into those doomed buildings to save others. These remarkable heroes saved 28,000 human lives.

They say the very act of putting on a firefighter's or police officer's uniform makes a person a hero. The willingness to put your life on the line for your fellow man makes you special. One of my predecessors as police commissioner, Theodore Roosevelt (1895-1897), said it best: "The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes up short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming, but who actually strives to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory or defeat."

That is what our emergency workers are about. Thousands of police officers and firefighters are former Marines. On the Iwo Jima memorial in Arlington, Va., are inscribed the words "Uncommon Valor was a Common Virtue." I witnessed such valor time and again in the NYPD, the FDNY and the Emergency Medical Service.

It occurs elsewhere as well, probably in your town.

God bless our emergency workers, and God bless America. ★

*Howard Safir is chairman and CEO of Safir Rosetti, a security and investigation company. He is a former New York City police commissioner and fire commissioner.*



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## Nydia Velázquez *U.S. Representative, D-N.Y.*

“America is strong because of the civic virtue of our people. Today we call this ‘giving back.’ But civic virtue is more than that - it’s an ancient and powerful idea, often forgotten elsewhere in the world. Every day here in America, this idea compels



immigrants to work and study, young people to enlist, school-teachers to volunteer outside class, veterans to start businesses, tycoons to become philanthropists and families to donate food from their own table to the less fortunate. This American civic virtue weaves a fabric of community that is impossible to tear, which we proved on Sept. 11.”

## Helio Castroneves *2002 Indianapolis 500 winner*



“I believe the years that I stayed here and even before I stayed here, when I lived in Brazil, I admired the patriotism of the Americans. And that’s what makes everyone strong over here, in my opinion ... everybody sticks together, and it’s fantastic.”

## Curt Schilling *Arizona Diamondbacks pitcher, 2001 World Series co-MVP*



“Freedom. The limits on your life in this country are basically self-imposed. You can do anything and be anything you want to be, which is not something that many people born outside of this country have the ability to do ... When you look back at all the great Americans, you find a wealth of people who did what people said couldn’t be done. I think that’s what makes us stand out as a nation.”



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Americans have rallied around not just a flag and not just symbols of America, but we have begun to understand that the country needs each one of us to move forward from this point. We have started to understand that what makes America strong is not a constitution, not a flag and not buildings; it's the backbone of those Americans who support all of these things.

## Shauntay Hinton

*Miss USA 2002*



Active citizenship. It embodies all the freedoms this country has – freedom of speech, freedom of press – and it's up to us to use these freedoms in a positive way to accomplish the true spirit of

America. The freedom I like to use the most is volunteerism. President Bush said it best in his State of the Union address. We need to stop relying so much on the government to make civil liberties happen for us. We can dedicate our bodies and our time to making a great impact on America. I think that's what makes America strong, especially after the events of last year.

## Alex Spanos

*NFL owner,  
San Diego Chargers*

The best example we have ever had in many years is what George W. Bush has shown us since Sept. 11 ... He has



brought the best out and made every American feel how proud we are to be Americans. Without a question, he's what makes America strong now.

## Soledad O'Brien

*Television co-anchor,  
NBC "Weekend Today"*



America's strength lies in its diversity – not only the diversity of people, but also the

diversity of voices.

When I go to Cuba to visit my relatives, the point I make is I can stand on the corner

and say anything I want to about our president and our administration, and they can't. And I think that diversity of voices is a really good, clear sign that democracy is at work. During the election debacle in November, it was, at one point, very unclear who would be running our nation. But everyone was calm and things did not fall apart. We figured the process would play itself out and we would know. I hope that as we go forward, we remember that diversity is our strength and that listening to all people's voices is critical.

## Todd Snider

*Singer*



What makes me feel like we're strong is our tolerance of each other ... I like that I walk to my grocery store and not everybody

looks like me. That makes me really happy.

## Jennifer O'Neill

*Actress, author*



'In God We Trust' is stamped on our currency, and freedom of speech, religion and the pursuit of happiness blesses every U.S. citizen. Despite the fact that we have morally strayed during certain chapters in our history, adversity has once again drawn Americans together as a mighty whole, fanning the flame of integrity and igniting pride in our country as never before. Our 'nation under God, indivisible' stands heads above the rest of the world. God has blessed

America ... and now it is time that Americans bless and honor God, who, after all, is the author of our country's greatness.



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The *American Legion Magazine* publishes reunion notices for veterans. Send notices to **The American Legion Magazine, Attn: Comrades Editor, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206**, fax (317) 630-1280 or e-mail [reunions@legion.org](mailto:reunions@legion.org).

Include the branch of service and complete name of the group, no abbreviations, with your request. The listing also should include the reunion dates and city, along with a contact name, telephone number and e-mail address. Listings are published free of charge.

Due to the large number of reunions, *The American Legion Magazine* will publish a group's listing only once a year. Notices should be sent at least six months prior to the reunion to ensure timely publication.

## Other Notices

"In Search Of" is primarily a means of getting in touch with people from your unit to plan a reunion. Listings must include the name of the unit from which you seek people, the time period and the location, as

well as a contact name, address, telephone number and e-mail address. Send notices to **The American Legion Magazine, Attn: Comrades Editor, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206**, fax (317) 630-1280 or e-mail [reunions@legion.org](mailto:reunions@legion.org). The magazine will not publish the names of individuals, only the name of the unit from which you seek people. Listings are published free of charge.

Life Membership notices are published for Legionnaires who have been awarded life memberships by their posts. This does not include a member's own Paid-Up-For-Life membership. Notices must be submitted on official forms, which may be obtained by sending a self-addressed stamped envelope to **The American Legion Magazine, Attn: Life Memberships, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206**.

"Comrades in Distress" listings must be approved by the Legion's Veterans Affairs & Rehabilitation division. If you are seeking to verify an injury received during service, contact your Legion department service officer for information on how to publish a notice.

"Taps" notices are published only for Legionnaires who served as department commanders or national officers.

## AIR FORCE

**8th Avn Field Depot Sqdn**, Omaha, NE, 9/19-22, Leonard Janke, (402) 385-3229; **13th AF Vets Assn**, Valley Forge, PA, 10/16-19, Phil Dyer, (231) 843-9597, [rpi@lquest.net](mailto:rpi@lquest.net); **15th AF 312th Depot Repair Sqd Air Depot Grp WWII**, Buffalo, NY, 9/12-14, Lawrence Schulte, (785) 256-4308, [lmackie@juno.com](mailto:lmackie@juno.com); **15th Troop Carrier Sqdn Reunion Club**, Branson, MO, 9/30-10/3, Joe J. Yuhasz, (801) 566-5752, [ryuhasz45@aol.com](mailto:ryuhasz45@aol.com); **438th Troop Carrier Grp HQ 87th**, 88th, 89th, 90th Sqdns, Ft. Walton Beach, FL, 10/16-19, Bob Gates, (850) 243-7465, [bogbates@cox.net](mailto:bogbates@cox.net); **1503rd Air Trans Wing Pacific Div 1946-1958 (MATS)**, Jackson, MN, 9/20-22, Bill Teichman, (309) 796-2084, [billsal@mchsi.com](mailto:billsal@mchsi.com); **Army Air Corps Enlisted Pilots 1912-1942**, Houston, 10/23-26, Edwin F. Wenglar, (361) 872-2189, [edwenglar@earthlink.net](mailto:edwenglar@earthlink.net); **Distinguished Flying Cross Society**, Crystal City, VA, 10/16-20, Paul A. Butler, (410) 997-3277, [pabmab264@aol.com](mailto:pabmab264@aol.com); **OCS Class 53D**, Knoxville, TN, September, Roy R. Salton, (865) 458-9171, [r.salton@att.net](mailto:r.salton@att.net); **RAF Station Manston**, Washington, 10/1-5, Milton Torres, (305) 238-3342

## ARMY

**1st Ord 1st M&M Co**, Perryville, MD, 10/2-4, Bill Borque, (508) 822-6965; **1st Spec Forces Grp (Abn) 1st Spec Forces**, San Diego, 9/3-8, David Ogo, (858) 541-0282, [kawikaso@aol.com](mailto:kawikaso@aol.com); **2nd Armd Div 48th Armd Med Bn**, Omaha, NE, 10/4-5, M. Vodehnal, (308) 882-7756, [mmjvodie@webtv.net](mailto:mmjvodie@webtv.net); **4th Inf (Ivy) Div Assn**, Carol Stream, IL, 10/11-13, Joe Czyzyk, (630) 980-9672, [josczyk1@hotmail.com](mailto:josczyk1@hotmail.com); **5th Spec Forces Bn 19th Spec Forces Grp Abn**, Colorado Army National Guard, Denver, 9/14-15, Clyde Meeks, (970) 881-2672, [coh5thbn@aol.com](mailto:coh5thbn@aol.com); **12th Ord Bn (Spec Wpns Depot)**, Myrtle Beach, SC, 10/6-9, Edward E. Pruett, (817) 361-0069, [pruettee@aol.com](mailto:pruettee@aol.com); **15th Cav Grp 15th, 17th Cav Sqdns**, Fredericksburg, VA, 9/15-17, Alvin Bandy, (540) 373-3027; **24th Inf Div WWII, Korea, Germany, Lebanon, Desert Storm and all supporting units**, Kansas City, MO, 9/18-21, Harry Wittman, (304) 788-0465; **73rd AAA AW Bn (SP)**, Gettysburg, PA, 9/3-7, Peter Pedrotti, (703) 360-2644; **91st Chem Mortar Bn**, Charleston, SC, 10/3-5, Jim McCabe, (770) 487-8392; **140th Inf Rgt, Festus**, MO, 10/19, Jack McNeil, (314) 837-7951

**280th Eng Cbt Bn WWII**, Dallas, 9/19-22, Marlin Kreighbaum, (309) 691-9410, [mkreigh235@aol.com](mailto:mkreigh235@aol.com); **532nd Eng Boat and Shore Rgt**, Tuscola, IL, 9/12-14, Sharon Corum, (888) 253-7212; **712th Trans Bn (Railway Operation)**, Asheville, NC, 9/22-25, Bob Shannon, (910) 949-3920, [rshannon@ac.net](mailto:rshannon@ac.net); **746th Railway Operating Bn**, Virginia Beach, VA, 10/3-10/6, Jim Dwyer, (919) 217-0403; **B Co 15th Rgt 3rd Inf Div**, Fayetteville, NC, 9/29-10/3, William Fortier, (845) 758-2240; **H Co 19th Spec Forces Grp Abn**, Colorado Army National Guard, Denver, 9/14-15, Clyde Meeks, (970) 881-2672, [coh5thbn@aol.com](mailto:coh5thbn@aol.com); **M Co 303rd Inf Rgt 97th Inf Div**, Philadelphia, 9/12-15, Fremont Gruss, (952) 745-4854

## JOINT

**Burtonwood Assn**, Biloxi, MS, 10/5-6, Howard W. Polesky, (402) 895-4909; **Southeast Asia Veterans**, Bangkok, Thailand, 9/26-29, Les Strouse, (662) 979-2406, [les@loxinfo.co.th](mailto:les@loxinfo.co.th); **U.S. Armed Forces Nuclear Energy Assn**, Charleston, SC, 9/19-23, Ed Fedol, (843) 873-3413, [gully@knology.net](mailto:gully@knology.net)

## MARINES

**1st Mar Div 3rd Bn 7th Mar Okinawa/China**, Poconos, PA, 9/17-20, Eric Bubeck, (410) 757-8613; **2nd Bn 1st Mar Rgt**

**1st Mar Div Korea**, Scottsdale, AZ, 10/24-27, Daniel M. Savino, (732) 462-4348, [sgtdanw211@aol.com](mailto:sgtdanw211@aol.com); **VMF/VMA-124**, Houston, 10/2-5, Jack Morrison, (281) 852-1381; **VMR-952**, Springfield, IL, 9/19-21, Al Dawe, (734) 421-8298; **WWII Drill Instructors**, Parris Island, SC, 10/21-25, Tiny Renaker, (810) 982-2530

## NAVY

**Standard Loading Craft Unit 24**, Kansas City, MO, 9/26-28, James Wilson, (785) 494-2674, [jkwilson@wamego.net](mailto:jkwilson@wamego.net); **USS Anne Arundel, AP 76**, Wilmington, NC, 10/3-5, Marvin Williams, (704) 233-4948; **USS Bilfish, SS 286/SSN 676**, New London, CT, 10/18-20, John Martin, (301) 689-5070, [granwilson@juno.com](mailto:granwilson@juno.com); **USS Charles G. Adams, DDG 2**, Mayport, FL, 10/4-6, Bill O'Neill, (413) 863-4130, [cfaddg2@email.com](mailto:cfaddg2@email.com); **USS Connole, DE/FF 1056**, Mayport, FL, 10/25-27, J. Larry Venturino, (321) 728-4018, [vinny47@aol.com](mailto:vinny47@aol.com); **USS Custer, APA 40, WWII**, Lisle, IL, 9/12-15, Harry Kramer, (609) 586-6166; **USS Emory S. Land, AS 39**, Norfolk, VA, 9/20-22, J.R. Black, (757) 583-0284, [jrsmb339@aol.com](mailto:jrsmb339@aol.com); **USS Fair, DE 35**, Baltimore, 9/29-10/3, Donnell Lorenz, (410) 453-0175; **USS Grouper, SS/SSK/AGSS 214**, Sidell, LA, 10/24-26, Bill "Ski" Kritzky, (985) 643-0805, [dbfski@bellsouth.net](mailto:dbfski@bellsouth.net); **USS Haggard, DD 555**, Kansas City, MO, 9/4-8, Jennifer Kelly, (816) 628-9987; **USS James O'Hara, APA 90**, Branson, MO, 10/14-16, Arthur D. Beasley, (804) 526-1203

**USS Lee Fox**, Houston, 9/18-21, Bill Ross, (916) 652-0692, [eselstad@netzero.net](mailto:eselstad@netzero.net); **USS Leutze, DD 481**, Mesa, AZ, 10/10-12, Richard L. Kleiber, (303) 935-6978; **USS LST 72**, Mobile, AL, 10/23-27, Dale J. Nelson, (940) 692-5946, [danedjn@aol.com](mailto:danedjn@aol.com); **USS LST 347**, Mobile, AL, 10/23-27, Dale J. Nelson, (940) 692-5946, [danedjn@aol.com](mailto:danedjn@aol.com); **USS LST 781**, Pensacola, FL, 9/11-14, Vance Barnes, (251) 974-3355, [vakwbarn@guilford.com](mailto:vakwbarn@guilford.com); **USS McKean, DD/DDR 784**, Newport, RI, 10/19-22, Bill McKenzie, (412) 621-1629, [mckenzie@pgnmail.com](mailto:mckenzie@pgnmail.com); **USS Montpelier, CL 57**, Montpelier, VT, 9/7-10, Jackie Frazier, (513) 231-4402, [jackiefrazier@aol.com](mailto:jackiefrazier@aol.com); **USS Ommaney Bay, CVE 79**, Portland, OR, 10/1-5, Richard Whisner, (909) 658-0873; **USS Picuda**, Vallejo, CA, 10/16-20, Charles Addison, (530) 344-0708, [cajun@jps.net](mailto:cajun@jps.net); **USS Quilback**, Vallejo, CA, 10/16-20, Charles Addison, (530) 344-0708, [cajun@jps.net](mailto:cajun@jps.net); **USS Renville, APA 227**, Seattle, 9/19-9/22, Don Wright, (513) 481-8317, [jdwrightstuff@cs.com](mailto:jdwrightstuff@cs.com); **USS Tattnall, DDG 2**, Mayport, FL, 10/4-6, Leroy Houghton, (508) 255-4354, [leroy@c4.net](mailto:leroy@c4.net)

**USS Truita**, Vallejo, CA, 10/16-20, Charles Addison, (530) 344-0708, [cajun@jps.net](mailto:cajun@jps.net); **USS Wilsie, DD 716**, Reno, NV, 9/19-21, Ed Canby, (775) 827-8163, [canby@operamail.com](mailto:canby@operamail.com); **USS Windsor, APA 55**, New Orleans, 10/20-24, Adolph Loch, (810) 463-4445; **USS Wyoming, BB 32/AG 17/SSBN 742**, Mobile, AL, 10/8-10, John A. Winters, (419) 823-7524

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## COMRADES IN DISTRESS

**7th Cav Rgt Post Football Team**. George M. Rhinehardt needs witnesses to verify he was tackled frequently as holder of the "tackle dummy" at Camp Otsu, Japan, in 1956. CID 1442  
**USS Columbus, CA 74**. Paul Keith Smith needs witnesses to verify he suffered a concussion to his ears during a Gun Mount 51 firing exercise in 1955. CID 1443  
**5th GM HQ**. Ronald P. Aldrich needs witnesses to verify he suffered a back injury while loading a wrecker at Ft. Bliss, Texas, in between August 1961 and October 1961. CID 1444

## IN SEARCH OF

**1st Bn 81st FA**. Anyone who served in Neu-Ulm, Germany, between 1970 and 1976, contact Charles Nesbitt, 460 Janie Road, Chesterfield, SC 29709 or call (843) 623-3744.  
**3rd Air Cargo Resupply Sqdn**. Anyone who served during WWII, contact Stanley Rhodes, 6501 E. Normandie Circle, Orange, CA 92869, call (714) 633-3954 or e-mail [beestan@att.net](mailto:beestan@att.net).  
**3rd Reinforcement Depot, APO 872, U.S. Army**. Anyone who went through basic training in Marburg, Germany, between 1945 and 1946, contact Lennart Berggren, 145 Water's Edge Drive, Williamsburg, VA 23188, call (757) 564-1847 or e-mail [liberggren@msn.com](mailto:liberggren@msn.com).  
**4th Mar. Weapons Co, 1st Bn, 3rd Div**. Anyone who served between July 1954 and November 1954 at Camp Nara, Japan, contact George Heider, 8909 Clayton Ave., Neenah, WI 54956.  
**6th Air Police Sqdn**. Anyone who served at Walker AFB in Roswell, N.M., between September 1950 and July 1952, contact Buster C. Rogers, 7065 Janean Drive, Brownsburg, IN 46112 or call (317) 691-5054.  
**6th Eng Spec Bde HQ and HQ Co**. Anyone who served in England and at Omaha Beach, contact Robert F. Bern, 955 E. Brooks St., Galesburg, IL 61401 or call (309) 343-7966.  
**7th Armd Div HQ Co 31st Tank Bn CCB**. Anyone who served in the Battle of the Bulge between August 1944 and January 1945, contact Ronald D. Devaney, 707 Joiner Hollow Road, Rockwood, TN 37854.  
**8th Army 8138th Hosp Trains No. 5**. Anyone who served in Pusan, Korea, between February 1952 and August 1952, contact Donald Hullopeter, 796 East Lake Hendricks Drive, Hendricks, MN 56136.  
**12th Eng Bn 3rd Echelon**. Anyone who served in Dexheim, Germany, between 1959 and 1961, contact Lynn Van Zant, 2232 Farris Creek Road, Belvidere, TN 37306 or call (931) 967-1318.



**21st QM Clothing Depot & Supply Co.** Anyone who served in Guam between 1949 and 1951, contact Francis Lee Conger, 2168 Queensdale Court, Maumee, OH 43537, call (419) 866-0256 or e-mail macl@accessoleo.com.

**22nd NCB HQ Co.** Anyone who served in Sitka, Alaska, and Attu, Aleutians, in 1943, contact Dave Warhoring, 6746 Eastwood St., Philadelphia, PA 19149 or e-mail seeshellride@aol.com.

**24th Inf Div.** Anyone who served in WWII, Korea, Germany, Lebanon, Desert Storm and all supporting units, contact Harry Wittman, 1385 Terri St., Keyser, WV 26726 or call (304) 788-0465.

**27th Inf 3rd Bn.** Anyone who served during WWII, contact Jim Beasley, P.O. Box 643, Pittsboro, NC 27312 or call (919) 542-3824.

**36th Eng Det.** Anyone who served at Ft. Benjamin Harrison, Ind., between 1970 and 1971, contact Harry D. Swaney, 211 Ashby-Ford Road, Smithfield, PA 15478, call (724) 583-1078 or e-mail grpaswaney@yahoo.com.

**43rd Div 172nd Inf A Co.** Anyone who served in the South Pacific between June 1943 and July 1943, contact Cleo G. Jeffrey, 607 Ridge Road, Shoemakersville, PA 19555.

**69th NCB.** Anyone who served at Camp Perry, Va., in December 1942, contact Tom Tangney at (608) 253-3771 or e-mail btangney@g2a.net.

**82nd Eng Cbt Bn.** Anyone who served between 1943 and 1945, contact Edward T. Molloy, 4565 Sweet Bay Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935, call (321) 254-8981 or e-mail evollom@aol.com.

**88th Div 350th Inf H Co.** Anyone who served in Northern Italy between March 1946 and June 1946, contact James Jacobson, 2461 Lake St., Niles, MI 49120 or call (616) 683-9100.

**92nd Inf (Buffalo) Div WWII Assn.** Anyone who served between October 1942 and June 1945, contact Joseph L. Stephenson, 15016 Candover Court, Silver Springs, MD 20906 or call (301) 438-3931.

**93rd Bomb Wing 4115th Org Maint Sqdn.** Anyone who served at castle AFB, Calif., between 1952 and 1953, contact Lou Swanson, 4518 Broadbush Drive, Dayton, OH 45426, call (937) 837-3038 or e-mail swanalfie@aol.com.

**125th Air Traffic Cont Co.** Anyone who served in Saigon, Song Be, Pleiku or Kontum between October 1967 and September 1969, contact Mike Isabelle, 152 Bishop Drive, Framingham, MA 01702, call (508) 626-2732 or e-mail mjbelf1@rcn.com.

**159th FA Bn.** Anyone who served in Korea between 1951 and 1953, contact Frank Brkl, P.O. Box 144, Altoona, PA 16603 or call (814) 942-1164.

**160th Inf 40th Div.** Anyone who served in Luzon, Philippines, between 1942 and 1945, contact Cassie Dintelman, 7953 Brook Road, DuQuoin, IL 62832 or call (618) 542-2477.

**264th FA Bn.** Anyone who served with C Btry or Charlie Co in Bad Kreuznach, Germany, between February 1953 through May 1955, contact Jack R. Denny, 1803 Swift, North Kansas City, MO 64116 or call (816) 471-4194.

**470th AAA AW Bn.** Anyone who served in New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago and the Philippines between 1942 and 1945, contact E.R. Keller, 166 Northcrest Acres, Lebanon, PA 17046 or call (717) 273-2727.

**509th Air Police Sqdn.** Anyone who served at Walker AFB in Roswell, N.M., between September 1950 and July 1952, contact Buster C. Rogers, 7065 Janean Drive, Brownsburg, IN 46112 or call (317) 691-5054.

**806th MP.** Anyone who served in Bermuda between January 1942 and September 1945, contact Birney Alphin, 8014 Sunrise Circle, Franklin, TN 37067, call (615) 599-0472 or e-mail alphin@comcast.net.

**806th Trans Truck Bn.** Anyone who served at Ft. Bragg, N.C., or Bussac, France, between 1951 and 1952, contact Max Watkins at (501) 834-1386 or e-mail marmaxwatkin@aristotle.net.

**818th Air Police Sqdn.** Anyone who served at Lincoln AFB, Neb., between 1954 and 1955, contact Ralph Woznicki, 464 Ridge Road, Mishawaka, IN 46544 or e-mail wozroy3@juno.com.

**985th FA Bn.** Anyone who served in Africa or Italy between April 1942 and September 1945, contact Joseph Lax, 33 Daley St., New Hyde Park, NY 11040 or call (516) 873-6270.

**3105th Ord Peninsular Base Section.** Anyone who served in Naples, Italy, between December 1945 and March 1946, contact James Jacobson, 2461 Lake St., Niles, MI 49120 or call (616) 683-9100.

**3181st Sig Serv Bn.** Anyone who served in Okinawa between 1945 and 1947, contact Arthur J. Sebastia, 343 Schraalenburgh Road, Haworth, NJ 07641 or call (201) 384-3044.

**3322nd Sig Info and Monitoring Co.** Anyone who served in Okinawa in 1945, contact Arthur J. Sebastia, 343 Schraalenburgh Road, Haworth, NJ 07641 or call (201) 384-3044.

**3712th QM Truck Co 1st Army HQ.** Anyone who served in Europe between January 1944 and November 1945, contact Glen Stebing, 7124 Palladio Square, Fort Wayne, IN 46804 or call (260) 436-5325.

**5030th AB Sqdn Air Police.** Anyone who served at Marks AFB



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**6400th Air Police Sqdn.** Anyone who served at FEACOM AFB in Tachikawa, Japan, between 1952 and 1954, contact Ralph Woznicki, 464 Ridge Road, Mishawaka, IN 46544 or e-mail wozroy3@juno.com.

**6922nd Sec Wing.** Anyone who served at USAFSS Ops at Clark AFB, Philippines, between January 1968 and December 1971, contact Bruce Suits, 3362 Alpine Place, Cincinnati, OH 45211, call (513) 662-3362 or e-mail zootboy@webtv.net.

**8070th MP Escort Guard & POW Processing Co.** Anyone who served in Korea or with the 8th Army Stockade & Sugamo Prison in Japan between 1949 and 1952, contact William G. Mahar at (603) 654-3512 or e-mail wmahar@aol.com.

**A Co 1st Bn 23rd Inf Rgt 2nd Div.** Anyone who served in South Korea in 1971, contact G.M. Marshall, P.O. Box 322, Canaan, CT 06018, call (860) 320-9037 or e-mail marvmarshall@hotmail.com.

**APC Sailors.** Anyone who served during WWII, contact Tom De Mott Jr., American Embassy Cairo, Unit 64900, APO AE 09839 or e-mail demott@erols.com.

**B Btry, 72nd Coast Arty.** Anyone who played baseball at Ft. Randolph, contact Francis Kohan, 10631 78th St., Ozone Park, NY 11417 or call (718) 848-0302.

**B Co 843rd Eng Avn Bn.** Anyone who served at SCARWAF Station at Chaumont AB, France, between 1954 and 1955, contact Bobby James, 13330 Laraway Drive, Riverview, FL 33569, call (813) 677-5742 or e-mail bobjanes13330@aol.com.

**Flight 219, 3702nd Basic Military Tng Sqdn.** Anyone who served at Lackland AFB, Texas, between March 1953 and May 1953, contact Jack D. DuBose, 17 Cedar Hill Road, Conway, AR 72032, call (501) 329-6868 or e-mail jack.dubose@conwaycorp.net.

**G Co 60th Inf Rgt 9th Inf Div.** Anyone who served between March 1945 and May 1946, contact Charles Illsley, P.O. Box 322, Grand Lake, CO 80447 or call (970) 627-8434.

**Harmon Field, Newfoundland.** Anyone who served in the band or hospital, contact Joseph Suizzo, 101 Arthur Drive, Manahawkin, NJ 08050 or call (609) 597-6303.

**Johnston Island.** Anyone who served in the Pacific in the 1950s, contact Richard H. Hatchette, 100 Glendale Manor Drive, Apt. 32, Clinton, SC 29325 or call (864) 833-7941.

**Mar Air Grp 15 or Serv mar Sqdn 15.** Anyone who worked in material or group supply between 1948 and 1951, contact Gerald J. McKeon, 12405 County Road 137, Welborn, FL 32094, call (386) 963-5901 or e-mail gjmck@webtv.net.

**Paratrooper Tng Camp.** Anyone who served in Rome between August 1944 and October 1944, contact H. Parramore, 11133 Blue Star Highway, Mt. Pleasant, FL 32352.

**Signalman School.** Anyone who served in Chicago in 1940, contact John W. Holmes, 5118 N. Leeside St., McHenry, IL 60050.

**Task Force 593-1, LZ English.** Anyone who served in Vietnam between 1968 and 1969, contact Larry Sorrentino, 11108 Hartsook St., North Hollywood, CA 91601, call (818) 763-2766 or e-mail ljsorr@adelphia.net.

**U.S. Mil Gov.** Anyone who served with the Mil Gov Det in Ingolstadt, Germany, between May 1945 and November 1947, contact Charles Illsley, P.O. Box 322, Grand Lake, CO 80447 or call (970) 627-8434.

**USS AFD 5 Floating Drydock.** Anyone who served in Milne Bay, New Guinea, and the Philippines between 1944 and 1946, contact Tom Eidem, 3211 Aquila Lane, St. Louis Park, MN 55426.

**USS LCT 385.** Anyone who served aboard during WWII, contact Harry A. Smalling, 614 Passaic Ave., Clifton, NJ 07012, call (973) 473-3141 or e-mail grampstara@aol.com.

**USS LST 469.** Anyone who served aboard during WWII, contact Harry A. Smalling, 614 Passaic Ave., Clifton, NJ 07012, call (973) 473-3141 or e-mail grampstara@aol.com.

**USS Merrimack, AO 37.** Anyone who served aboard in 1947, contact Bill Toohy, R.R. 1, Box 240, Clinton, IL 61727 or e-mail b12e@yahoo.com.

**USS Milwaukee, CL 5.** Anyone who served aboard during WWII, contact Joseph J. Lemenovich Jr., P.O. Box 111, Vestaburg, PA 15368 or call (724) 377-2350.

**USS Palau, CVE 122.** Any Navy or Marine Corps personnel who served aboard between January 1946 and June 1954, contact Harry G. Weldy, 45 W. Cherry St., POB 122, Rising Sun, MD 21911, call (410) 658-6043 or e-mail hweldy@dol.net.

**USS Queens, APA 103.** Anyone who served aboard during WWII, contact Harry A. Smalling, 614 Passaic Ave., Clifton, NJ 07012, call (973) 473-3141 or e-mail grampstara@aol.com.

**USS Saratoga, CVA 60.** Anyone who served with the V3 Div between 1963 and 1965, contact Jimmy Anselmo, 3500 Clearview Parkway, Metairie, LA 70006 or call (504) 888-3849.

**USS Sitkoh Bay, CVE 86.** Anyone who served between April 1945 and August 1946, contact Leon Eller at (615) 452-8277 or e-mail birdfeeder4u2@aol.com.

**USS Thaddeus Parker, DE 369.** Anyone who served between October 1944 and April 1946, contact Joe Walsh, 97 Shoreham Road, Massapequa, NY 11758 or call (516) 798-4211.

**USS Trinity, AO 13.** Anyone who served in the Pacific between 1943 and 1946, contact E.M. Kiely, 46 Wells Road, Vernon, CT 06066, call (860) 646-6687 or e-mail elvak@webtv.net.

**VII Corps LRRP Co Abn.** Anyone who served in Nellingen, Germany, between 1961 and 1969, contact Joe Chetwynd at (781) 826-2259 or e-mail vilrmpabnhq@juno.com.

**VP-49.** Anyone who served in Bermuda between 1952 and 1955, contact Ken Nyland, P.O. Box 188, New Glarus, WI 53574, call (608) 527-2264 or e-mail avcmkn@tds.net.

## TAPS

**C. Lamar Cannon, Dept. of Florida.** Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1960-1962 and 1968-1969, Nat'l Distinguished Guests Cmte. Memb. 1964-1967, Dept. Cmdr. 1965-1966, Nat'l Sec. Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1966-1967, Nat'l Sec. Cncl. Memb. 1970-1972, Nat'l Americanism

Cmsn. Memb. 1970-1973, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Memb. 1972-1974, Nat'l Foreign Relations Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1988-1991 and 1997-2001, Nat'l Legis. Cncl. Memb. 1993-1994 and Nat'l Public Relations Cmsn. Memb. 2001-2002.

**Earl B. Colby Jr., Dept. of Maine.** Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1976-1978, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1978-1981, Dept. Cmdr. 1987-1988, Nat'l Veterans Preference Cmte. Memb. 1987-1990 and Nat'l Sec. Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1991-2002.

**Joseph Davignon, Depts. of Vermont and Canada.** Dept. Cmdr. 1955-1956.

**Henry J. Gazza Jr., Dept. of Illinois.** Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Region 5 1999-2001, Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Regional Vice Chmn. 2000-2001, Dept. Cmdr. 2001-2002, Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Regional Chmn. 2001-2002.

**Joseph S. Gilkey, Dept. of Indiana.** Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1977-1978, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Memb. 1978-1979, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1984-1987 and 1990-1996, and Nat'l Foreign Relations Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1988-1990.

**Irving Halpern, Dept. of Arizona.** Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1971-1972 and 1975-1976, Dept. Cmdr. 1974-1975, Alt. Nat'l Exec. Cmte. Memb. 1976-1978 and Nat'l Legis. Cncl. Memb. 1976-1978.

**F. Douglas Johnson, Dept. of Maryland.** Nat'l Rehab. Cmsn. Advisory Board Memb. 1966-1969, Nat'l Veterans Preference Cmte. Memb. 1971-1972, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1972-1974, Nat'l Cmsn. on Children & Youth Memb. 1974-1980, Nat'l Cmdr.'s Special Cmte. on Education 1975-1976, Nat'l Cmsn. on Children & Youth Vice Chmn. 1975-1976, Dept. Cmdr. 1976-1977, Nat'l Cmsn. on Children & Youth Chmn. 1976-1977, Alt. Nat'l Exec. Cmte. Memb. 1978-1980, Nat'l Exec. Cmte. Memb. 1980-1982, Nat'l Cmsn. on Children & Youth Liaison Memb. 1980-1982, Nat'l Internal Affairs Cmsn. Memb. 1982-2002 and Nat'l Legis. Cncl. Memb. 1983-1984.

**Percy A. Lemoine, Dept. of Louisiana.** Nat'l Agricultural & Conservation Cmte. Memb. 1948-1959, Nat'l Un-American Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1951, Dept. Cmdr. 1962-1963, Nat'l Child Welfare Cmsn. Nat'l Cmdr.'s Rep. 1963-1964, Nat'l Veterans Preference Cmte. Memb. 1963-1966, Nat'l Distinguished Guests Cmte. Memb. 1968-1969, Nat'l Rehab. Cmsn. Memb. 1969-1972, Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1971-1973, Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Cmsn. Memb. 1972-1999, Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Cmsn. Vice Chmn. 1976-1977, 1980-1983, 1988-1989 and 1991-1992, and Nat'l Veterans Affairs & Rehab. Cmsn. Chmn. 1977-1978, 1986-1987, 1989-1990 and 1992-1993.

**Vincent G. McAloon, Dept. of France.** Nat'l Distinguished Guests Cmte. Memb. 1962-1964, Dept. Cmdr. 1963-1965, Nat'l Distinguished Guests Cmte. Vice Chmn. 1964-1965, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Memb. 1965-1966, Nat'l Americanism Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1966-1994 and Alt. Nat'l Exec. Cmte. Memb. 1986-1990.

**Alvin A. Roche Sr., Dept. of Louisiana.** Nat'l Mbrshp. & Post Activ. Cmte. Memb. 1967-1977, Nat'l Sec. Cncl. Vice Chmn. 1976-1988, Dept. Cmdr. 1985-1986 and Nat'l Sec. Cmsn. Memb. 1988-1997.

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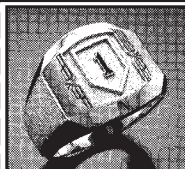
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# When magazines weren't afraid to show their colors



To celebrate Independence Day in 1942, major U.S. magazines agreed to feature patriotic covers in a unified response to the attack on Pearl Harbor. To honor the 60th anniversary of this collaboration, 100 of these covers are now on display at The Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington. The exhibit continues through Oct. 27. Cultural historian Peter Gwillim Kreitler's collection of these patriotic covers can be found in his 2001 book, "United We Stand: Flying the American Flag," published by Chronicle Books, San Francisco. A portion of proceeds from the book sales benefit the Red Cross.

## VERBATIM

"When eagles are silent, the parrots begin to jabber."  
— WINSTON CHURCHILL

"Any testimony that is negative about me isn't helpful."  
— U.S. REP. JAMES TRAFICANT, D-OHIO  
on the second day of his corruption and bribery trial last winter

"I'm going to throw up."  
— THE WIFE OF A VICTIM OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACKS  
upon hearing about a Georgia company's plans to mint commemorative medallions from the scrap metal of the ruins

"It's kind of strange, especially going through the gate and seeing Marines with machine guns standing there ready to take somebody out."  
— ED MALINOWSKI  
captain of the football team at the U.S. Naval Academy, on the heightened security before last year's Army-Navy game

"Researchers have discovered that chocolate produces some of the same reactions in the brain as marijuana ... The researchers also discovered other similarities between the two, but they can't remember what they are."  
— MATT LAUER  
on NBC's "Today" show, Aug. 22, 1996

## OLD SCHOOL

It was recently reported on the Web, perhaps apocryphally, that when NASA first started sending up astronauts, it quickly discovered ballpoint pens do not work in zero gravity. To combat the problem, NASA scientists spent a decade and \$12 billion developing a pen that writes in zero gravity, upside down, underwater, on almost any surface – including glass – and at temperatures ranging from below freezing to more than 300° C. The Russians used a pencil.

## FLYING OUT THE WINDOW?

New Transportation Security Administration numbers as compiled by The Wall Street Journal:

**63,000** Number of federal airport screeners needed

**3,000** Airport screeners hired

**39** Lawyers hired

**30** Criminal investigators hired

**64,044** Combined number of employees at the Department of State, Department of Labor and the Environmental Protection Agency

**429** Airports required to have federal screeners by November 2002

**3** Current number of airports that have federal screeners

**\$418,567** Amount spent by the former TSA chief on his office suite

## A DUBIOUS TASTE TEST

According to a police-blotter column in the San Jose, Calif., *Mercury News*, a bag of mysterious white powder turned up in a hospital there. The hospital was quickly evacuated, and the bag was secured by hospital staff and security officers. One of the officers, according to the report, "smelled and tasted the powder" before fire or police officials arrived and determined that it was not anthrax.

## A DIFFERENCE OF VALUES

**\$30** Cost to make a Medal of Honor, the nation's highest military award, from brass.

**\$30,000** Cost authorized to make the Congressional Gold Medal, given out to civilian celebrities such as John Wayne, Danny Thomas and foreign dignitaries like Nelson Mandela.

**\$2,000** Cost to make a new 90-percent gold, 10-percent alloy Medal of Honor, according to U.S. Rep. Joe Baca, D-Calif., co-sponsor of a bill to make a more valuable Medal of Honor. "We ought to treat a valiant soldier with at least the same respect we give foreign dignitaries," Baca told *The Washington Times*. "The cost and the metal content are not the issue. The issue is that we must give our most highly honored veterans a medal more reflective of their bravery."





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questions. (Packet includes information on mesothelioma treatment, clinical  
trials, cancer links, how to access legal and financial resources, and frequently  
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